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*Jo. Jacobus ex dono Jo. Jacobus
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S. J. THE *Rowlatt*
**FLORENTINE
HISTORY
IN
VIII. Books.**

Written by
NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL
Citizen and Secretary of *Florence*.

Now exactly Translated from the *Italian*.

L O N D O N,
Printed for *Charles Harper*, and *John Amery*,
and by them sold at the *Flower
de Luce*, and at the *Peacock*, both
against *S. Dunstons Church* in
Fleet-street. 1674.



R. White sculp.

*'Tis I alone can teach you to make warre,
I know what greatest Conquerers knew, & are:
I fill the Brests of greatest Potentates:
I give them Lawes to governe their Estates.*

x 945. 51
M182E
1674

TO THE
Most ILLUSTRIOUS
Prince
JAMES
DUKE of
MONMOUTH, &c.

May it please your GRACE,



His History has been
in all times so univer-
sally famous, and the
Author of so great
Reputation, that if it hath e-
scaped (as I hope it has) any
abuse of mine in the Translation,

A 3 there

The Epistle

there needs no farther Apology be made for it ; and I am discharged from that part of the Task, usually required in Dedications; and that other new mode of making addressees of this kind, seem rather Panegyricks to the Patron, than relate to the matter in hand, I may more justly wave, having aspired to lay my Endeavours at the feet of so Illustrious a Prince; nothing by me to be said or invented, can add the least grain to the weight of your Renown and Reputation.

And though this History may in some measure seem unsuitable to your Grace, whose innate Bravery

Dedicatory.

very in the Field, may be apt to condemn the Cowardise of the times here treated of : yet it may not be altogether unpleasant to observe the Policies, Devices and Stratagems, wherewith these Princes and Common-wealths endeavoured to compass the ends they could not by force or valour attain to, which are here so plainly and faithfully described, that they may well serve as so many Land-marks to avoid the Rocks of Deceit, and so far prove useful to the most Gallant Prince alive.

But far be it from me to attempt the informing your Graces

A 4 Judgment,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Judgment, which has been enlightened by so many great and glorious Experiences. I must of all your Princely Virtues have recourse only to your Clemency, hoping, that (with the worth of the Author) will procure mine a favourable acceptance, and plead a pardon for this confident Address made by

Your GRACE'S

Most Humble and most

Obedient Servant.

John Dancer.

T H E

T H E P R O E M

Written by the Author,
Nicholas Machiavel

To his

Florentine History.

I Had once an intention, when first I designed to write the Florentine affairs both within and without the City, to begin my Narration from the year 1434, at which time the Family of the Medici, by the great deserts of Cosmo and John his Father, aspired to more authority than any other in Florence: For I thought all actions before that time had been particularly related by Messer Leonard di Arrezzo, and Messer Poggio, two most Excellent Historians.

Machiavel's Proem.

ans. But after a diligent perusal of their works, in order to observe their way and method; and by imitating them render this History more pleasant to the Reader. I perceived that in writing the Florentine transactions, with Forreign Princes, and people they had been very exact; but incivil discords and intrinsick dissentions (and the causes from whence they sprung) they had in one part been quite silent, and in the other so brief, that the Reader could reap neither pleasure nor profit: which I imagine they did either, because they thought those actions so inconsiderable, that they were unworthy to be committed to memory, or else out of fear of offending those descended from them, of whom they were to discourse, who by the relating them, might perhaps be justly scandalized: Both which reasons (with respect be it spoken) appear unworthy of Noble Spirits; for if any thing

Machiavel's Proem.

thing teaches or delights in a History, it is the particular description of things; and if any reading be profitable to Citizens that govern a Common-wealth, it is that which sets down the reason of animosities and divisions in their City, that growing wise by others damage, they may preserve themselves united. For if any examples have power over us, those certainly of our own Common-wealth have the greatest, and do likewise more redound to our advantage. And if any Republick fell into remarkable divisions, those of Florence are most notable, for most other Common-wealths we have any knowledge of, have been content with one division, whereby according to accidents they have either added to, or ruined their City. But Florence not content with one, has run into many. In Rome (as is notoriously known) after their Kings were expelled, there happened a disunion between

Machiavel's Proem.

tween the Nobles and Plebeians, which continued till their ruine. So Athens, and so all other Common-wealths which in that time flourished. But in Florence there first happened division between the Nobles themselves, then between the Nobles and the People, then among the People and Plebeians, and whenever any of these parties got the upperhand, then they divided among themselves: which divisions caused so many executions, banishments and ruine of Families, as are not recorded to have ever happened in any other City. And in truth, in my judgement there need no better argument of the power of our City, than what may be deduced from these divisions, which were capable to annihilate the greatest and most populous City: Yet ours seem'd still to increase, such was the virtue of those Citizens, and the prevaillency of their judgement and valour to aggrandise them-

Machiavel's Proem.

themselves and their City, that they who remained untainted, could by their virtue more exalt it than the malignity of those accidents, which would have diminished any other, could oppress it. And doubtless had Florence been so happy when it first shook of the Yoke of Empire to have established such a form of Government, as might have maintained it united. I know no Commonwealth, either Ancient or Modern, would have been superiour or equal to it in arms or industry. For it is remarkable that after they had driven out the Ghibellines in such multitudes, that Tuscany and Lombardy swarmed with them, the Guelfs and those which remained in the City, in that war against Arezzo, a year before the battail of Campaldino, raised of their own Citizens twelve hundred men at Arms, and twelve thousand foot; and afterwards in the War against Phillip Visconti

Machiavel's Proem.

Visconti Duke of Milan, when they were to follow their industry, and not make use of their own Arms (for their men were consumed) they spent in five years, which that war lasted 350000 Florens, and yet when that war was ended (not content with peace) to boast the power and riches of their City, they went and besieged Lucca. I cannot therefore imagine why any should think these divisions deserve not a particular description, and if those noble Authors were restrained by the fear they had of offending the memory of those they were to discourse of, they were much mistaken, and appear not to have perfectly understood the ambition of men, and the desire they have to perpetuate their own and their Ancestors names, not remembring, that many not having the means to acquire fame by any good or glorious actions, have set their wits on work to gain

Machiavel's Proem.

gain it by wicked and facinorous exploits, nor considering that actions that have grandeur in themselves (as all matters of State and Government have) however they are acted, or whatever success they have, bring men more honour than blame. Upon consideration of which things I changed my design, and resolved to begin my History from the Original of our City. But because I have no intent to invade any other mans Province, I shall make a particular description until the year 1434, of such things only as have happened within the City, saying no more of affairs without than what is necessary for the better understanding of those within, and after 1434, I shall particularly describe both one and the other: And moreover to the end, this History may the better in all times be understood, I shall set down by what means Italy came under those Potentates which then governed,
all

Machiavel's Proem.

all which things as well Italian as Florentine will be comprised in four Books. The first briefly relating all the accidents of Italy, from the declination of the Roman Empire, to the year 1434, the second beginning from the Original of the City, shall continue till the war with the Pope after the driving out the Duke of Athens. The third shall end with the year 1434, and the death of Ladislaus, King of Naples, where the fourth beginning we shall from that time to this present, particularly describe all things that have happened, both within the City of Florence and without.

THE

THE Florentine History

In eight

BOOKS.

Written by

NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

BOOK I.



He people inhabiting the Regions Northwards from the rivers Rhyne and Danube, living in a healthful clime and apt for Generation, oft-times increase to such vast multitudes, that part of them are constrained to forsake their Native Country, and seek new places to dwell in. The Order observed when any of these Provinces would disburden themselves of their inhabitants is to divide into three parts, disposing things so, that each part have its equal number of Nobli-

How the Northern people called themselves of their multitudes

B tis

The cause of
the destru-
ction of the
Roman Em-
pire.

tie and Commons, of rich and poor. Then, that part to whose lot it falls, goes to seek its fortune, and the others (eased of one third) sit down, and enjoy their native soil. These people were they, who destroyed the *Roman Empire*, to which the Emperors themselves contributed; who by forsaking *Rome*, the ancient seat of the Empire, and settling themselves at *Constantinople*, did extremely weaken that part of the western Empire, as well for want of their care and observance, as by exposing it to the rapines both of its own Ministers and their Enemies. And indeed the ruine of such an Empire founded upon the blood of so many valiant men, could never have been effected, where there had been less neglect in the Princes, less treachery in their Ministers, or less power and obstinacy in the assailors; for not one people alone, but many were they conspired to this ruine. The first, that (after the *Cimbrians* overcome by *Marins*) came from those northern parts, to infest the *Roman Empire* were the *Visigoths*, or in plain English the *Western Goths*. Who after some skirmishes on the Confines of the Empire, did by Grant from the Emperors, for a long time keep their station on the banks of the *Danube*, and though at divers times, and upon divers occasions they assailed the *Roman Provinces*, yet they were always by the Imperial powers repulsed, and at last gloriously vanquished by *Theodasius*: so that reduced

The Visi-
goths infest
the Empire:

Overcome
by Theode-
sius.

reduced under his obedience, they made no more a King over themselves, but contented with the stipend allowed them, lived and made war, under his Ensigns and command. But *Theodasius* dying, and leaving his two sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius* heirs to his Empire, but neither to his valour nor fortune, the titles were changed with the Prince. *Theodasius* had committed the charge of the Empire to three Governors, giving *Rassius* the Lieutenancy of the East, *Silicon* that of the West, and to *Gildon* *Africa*: all which after the decease of the Emperour, sought not how to govern like faithful Ministers, but how to possess (like Princes,) those parts left them in charge. The designs of *Gildon* and *Rassius* were crush'd in the very egg, but *Silicon* who knew better how to dissimble his intents, sought to gain a confidence with the young Emperours, and in the mean while so embroiled their estates, that he might with more ease afterwards seize them. To make therefore the *Visigoths* their enemies, he counselled them no more to give them their usual stipend. And not thinking them sufficient of themselves to disturb the Empire, he contrived things so, that the *Burgundians*, *Franks*, *Vandals* and *Alans*, all Northern people, and ready to remove their habitations, should assail the *Roman Provinces*. The *Visigoths* deprived of their wonted provision, to put themselves in a better posture

Attempts of
Gildon, *Ras-*
sius and
Silicon.

Alaric King
of the *Visi-*
goths.

Sacks Rome,
and dyes,
and Autaul-
phus suc-
ceeded.

of revenging such an injury, created *Alarie* their King, and turning their Forces upon the Empire after various accidents, having spoiled all *Italy*, took and sack'd *Rome*. In the height of victories *Alarie* dyes, and *Autaulphus* succeeds him, who takes to wife *Placidia*, sister to the Emperours, and upon that alliance enters into league with them to relieve *France* and *Spain*, which Provinces, the *Vandals*, *Burgundians*, *Alans* and *Franks* (upon the encouragements above mentioned) had invaded. The Issue of which was, that the *Vandals* who had possessed themselves of that part of *Spain* called *Betica*, being vigorously assaulted by the *Visigoths*, and almost despairing of any relief, were by *Boniface*, then Lieutenant of *Africa*, invited over to possess that Province; for, having himself turn'd Rebel, he was fearful, lest his treasons should be discovered to the Emperours. These motives easily encouraged the *Vandals* to undertake the enterprize, who under the Command of *Genseric*, their King, made themselves Lords of *Africk*. Mean while *Theodosius* son to *Arcadius* succeeded to the Empire, who having but small regard of the Western affairs, gave opportunity to the Northern people to settle themselves in their conquests. Thus the *Vandals* began to Lord it in *Africa*, and the *Alans* and *Visigoths* in *Spain*, and the *Franks* and *Burgundians* not only seized upon *Gaul*, but gave names to the several parts by them possessed

Vandals possesse *Africk*.

Alans and *Visigoths* in *Spain*.
Franks and *Burgundians* in *Gaul*.

possessed, whence one was called *France* and the other *Burgundy*. These happy successes moved more people to attempt the destruction of the Empire, and another nation called *Hunns*, possessed themselves of *Pannonia* a Province lying just on this side the *Danube*, which from them has ever since born the name of *Hungary*. And it happened as an addition to these disorders that the Emperour seeing himself beset on all sides (was forced, to lessen the number of his enemies) sometimes to make peace with the *Vandals*, sometimes with the *Franks*, whereby the barbarous nations grew still more powerful, and the glory of the Empire decreased; nor was the Island of *Britain* (now called *England*) secure in this general calamity, for the *Britains* afraid of those people who had possessed themselves of *France*, and seeing no way how the Emperour could defend them, called to their assistance the *Angli*, a people of *Germany*. These *Angli* under their King *Vortiger* undertook the affair, and having first defended them, soon after drove them out of the Island, placing themselves there, and from their own name calling it *England*, whose old inhabitants thus driven from their native soil, grew desperate, and though they could not defend their own Countrey, resolved to seize upon another; To which end with all their families they passed over that Sea now called the Channel; and possessing themselves of those Countries next

Hunns enter *Pannonia*.

Britains call in the *Saxons*.

Saxons & *Angli* who seize their Land.

And they possess themselves of *Britany*.

the opposits there, called them after their own name *Britany*. The *Huns* who as we said before had seated themselves in *Pannonia*, confederating with other people, called *Zepides*, *Erules*, *Turingians*, and *Ostrogoths* (as in their language they call the Eastern *Goths*) determined to seek new Habitations. And finding no entrance into *France* already defended by the barbarous people, marched into *Italy* under *Attila* their King, who some time before to ingross to himself the whole Sovereignty, had put to death his Brother *Blada*, thereby becoming so power ful that *Andaric* King of the *Zepides*, and *Volamir* King of the *Ostrogoths* did him homage. At his arrival in *Italy*, *Attila* besieges *Aquilegia*, before which he lay two whole years without any molestation, and whilest he was in that leaguer, destroyed the whole Countrey about it, dispersing all its inhabitants, which gave the first beginnings (as shall in due time be told) to the City of *Venice*. After the taking and destroying *Aquilegia*, and many other Cities, he turned his forces towards *Rome*, the spoil of which he for bare, at the earnest prayers of the Pope, to which he paid such reverence and respect, that leaving *Italy*, he returned into *Austria* and there dyed. After his decease, *Volamir* King of the *Ostrogoths* with the chief of the other nations took arms against *Teuric* and *Burier* his sons, and killing one, forced the other with his *Huns* to repass the *Danube*,

Attila invades Italy.

Besieges Aquilegia.

Attila dyeth.

Danube, and return into their own Countrey; the *Ostrogoths* & *Zepides* seating themselves in *Pannonia* and the *Herules* and *Turingians* on the farther bank of the *Danube*; *Attila* having left *Italy*, *Valentinian* the Emperour of the West endeavoured to restore it to the Empire; and the more conveniently to defend it from the Barbarian's power, forsakes *Rome*, and makes *Ravenna* his seat. These Calamities were the occasion that, the Emperours who resided at *Constantinople*, had many times granted the possession of it to others, as a thing full of hazard and expence, and the *Romans* had as often, without his permission (seeing themselves abandoned) either of themselves created an Emperour to defend them, or some person of Authority amongst them had usurped that dignity. As at this time *Maximus* the Roman happened to do after *Valentinian's* death, forcing moreover *Eudoxia* that had been his Wife, to marry him: who impatient to revenge such an injury, and not enduring to submit to the marriage of a private Citizen, being her self born of Imperial blood, secretly encourages *Genseric* King of the *Vandals*, and now Lord of *Africa* to invade *Italy*: shewing him both the easiness and advantage of the Conquest. He enticed with the hopes of Prey, soon comes, and finding *Rome* forsaken, sacks it, and stays in it fourteen days; he takes and pillages likewise many Towns in *Italy*; and having loaded himself and his Army with

Valentinian makes Ravenna the Imperial Seat.

Maximus usurps the Empire.

Genseric invades Italy by Eudoxia.

Sacks Rome.

plunder returns into *Affrica*: the Romans again returned to *Rome*; and *Maximus* dead, they create *Avita* a Roman, Emperour. In longer process of time, and after various accidents in *Italy* and abroad, and the death of several Emperours, the Empire of *Constantinople* fell to *Zenon*, and that of *Rome* to *Orestes*, and *Augustulus* his son, who by cunning had seized the Empire: and whilst he designed to maintain it by force, the *Erules* and *Turingians* (who as I said before, had seated themselves on the farther side of the *Danube*) uniting under *Odoacer* their Captain, came into *Italy*, and into the places by them deserted, entred the *Lombards* (a Northern people likewise) under the Conduct of *Godolius* their King who became (as in due time shall be said) the last Plague of *Italy*.

Odoacer thus come into *Italy*, overcame and slew *Orestes* near to *Pavia*, and *Augustulus* fled. After this Victory, that *Rome* might feel a change of Title as well as Master, *Odoacer* forbearing the title of Emperour, causes himself to be stiled King of *Rome*, and was the first of the *Cheifes* of those people now running up and down the World to seek habitations, that settled in *Italy*, for all the others either out of fear that they could not hold it (succour from the Eastern Empire being so near at hand) or for some other hidden cause had only plundered it, and sought some other place of Residence. Upon the whole, the ancient Roman Empire was in these times reduced under these Princes. *Zenon*

Zenon Emperour of the East.

Odoacer invades *Italy*

makes himself King of *Rome*.

The State of the Roman Empire in these times.

hon, who reigned in *Constantinople*, commanded the whole Eastern Empire, the *Ostrogoths* were Lords of *Misia* and *Pannonia*. The *Visigoths*, *Swenes* and *Alanes* held *Gascony* and *Spain*; the *Vandals*, *Africa*; the *Franks* and *Burgundians*, *France*; and the *Herules* and *Turingians*, *Italy*. The Kingdom of the *Ostrogoths* was now descended to *Theodorio* Nephew of *Velamir*; who, being in league with *Zenon* Emperour of the East, sent him word that his *Ostrogoths* thought it hard measure, that they, who were superiour to all other people in Valour, should be inferiour in Empire; and that it was impossible for him, to restrain them within the bounds of *Pannonia*: therefore, since he was necessitated to let them take Arms, and seek new abodes, he thought fit first to acquaint him with it, to the end he might provide for them by granting them peaceably some Territories, where with his good favour, they might live more happily and commodiously. Whereupon *Zenon* partly for fear, and partly out of a desire to drive *Odoacer* out of *Italy*, gave *Theodorio* leave to march against him, and take possession of *Italy*. Who, soon departing from *Pannonia* (where he left the *Zepides*, a people his allies) and coming into *Italy*, he kills *Odoacer* and his Son; and after his Example, takes the Title of King of *Italy*, choosing *Ravenna* for his Seat, out of the same motives which had formerly perswaded *Valentinian* to reside there. *Theodorio* was a man both

Theodorio King of the *Ostrogoths*

has the Emperours leave to march into *Italy*.

makes himself King of it.

both in war and peace most excellent; for in the one he was always Conqueror, and in the other a great Benefactor to his Cities and People; he distributed his *Ostrogoths* with their Captains throughout the Countrey, to the end that in war they might command them, and in peace govern them. He enlarged *Ravenna*, restored *Rome*, and except military Discipline admitted the *Romans* to all degrees of Honour, he kept within their bounds (and that without any tumult of war, but by his sole authority) all those barbarous Kings who had shared the Empire, he built Towns and Fortresses between the point of the *Adriatick* Sea, and the *Alps*, the more easily to impeach the passage of any new Barbarians that might come to infest *Italy*. And had not so many virtues been towards his later end sullied with some cruelty, occasioned by jealousy of State; (which the deaths of *Simmachus* and *Boetius* two holy men are testimonies of) his memory had in all points been worthy of renown and honour; for by his virtue and goodness, not only *Rome* and *Italy*, but all other parts of the Western Empire (freed from the continual embroils of war, which for so long a term of years they had undergone by reason of the inundations of so many barbarous nations) were relieved and reduced unto good order and happy estate. And certainly if any times may be termed miserable in *Italy*, or in those Provinces over-

run

run by the *Barbarians*, they were those which passed between the Reigns of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, and his, for if it be well considered what damage it is to any Common-wealth or Kingdom to change its Prince or Government: not by any extrinsick force, but by civil discord, and how by little variations, Kingdoms and Commonwealths, though never so potent run to ruine: it will afterward be easie to conceive how much *Italy* and other *Roman* Provinces did in those times suffer, which not only changed their Government, but their Laws, Customs, manner of Living, Religion, Language, Habit and name; each of which things asunder (how much more then all together) are able to make the most resolute heart (that shall but think of them without either seeing or enduring them) to tremble. From hence sprung the ruine and the rise, the fall and increase of many Cities. Among those that were ruined were *Aquileia*, *Luni*, *Chiusi*, *Populonia*, *Fiesole* and many others, among those were new built were *Venice*, *Siena*, *Ferrara* and *Aquila*, and many other Towns and Castles, which for brevity sake, I omit. Those which from small ones grew great, were *Florence*, *Genova*, *Pisa*, *Milan*, *Naples* and *Bologna*, to which may be added the ruine and restoring of *Rome*, and many other Cities destroyed and rebuilt. Among these devastations, and this new people sprung up new tongues, as is evident

The sad Estate of Italy.

dent by the language now in use in *Spain*, *France* and *Italy*, which being a mixture of the native language of those nations, with the ancient *Roman*, has begot a new Dialect of speech. And besides not only Provinces, have changed their names, but even Lakes, Rivers, Seas and men, *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy* being full of new names, quite different from the former; for example to omit many other, the *Po. Garda* and *Archipelago*, have names now utterly dissonant from what was given them by the ancients; men likewise from *Cesar* and *Pompey* are come to be called *Peter*, *John* and *Matthew*, but of all these variations, the change of Religion was not of the least moment, for the use and custom of the ancient faith ingrafted in men, struggling and striving with the miracles of the new, most dreadful discords and tumults were raised amongst all people, and certainly had the Christian Religion been united the disorders must have been much less, but whilst the *Greek Church*, the *Roman*, and that at *Ravenna*, strove against each other, and Hereticks besides opposed the Catholick Doctrine, it sadly disturbed the whole world, witness *Africa*, which endured more calamities by the *Arrian* Sect, with whom the *Vandals* complied, and believed in, then by either their avarice or natural cruelty. So that men living in such a circle of persecutions, bore in their eyes the terror of their hearts, for besides the infinite

nite miseries they underwent, many knew not how to flye to the refuge of the Almighty, on whom all the distressed depend, for the greatest part being doubtful to what God to have recourse, despairing of all relief and succour, miserably dyed. *Theodoric* therefore deserves no small praise for having been the first, could give a stop to all these mischiefs, insomuch that in the eight and thirty years that he reigned in *Italy*. he restored it to such splendor that its former desolations were scarce perceivable. But he dead, and the Kingdom descended to *Atalaric* son of his daughter *Amalasonta*, the perverseness of fortune not yet quite allayd, *Italy* in a very short time fell into the same plunge of misfortunes it had formerly groaned under. For *Atalaric* soon after his Grand-fathers death, and that the Government remained in his mother, was betrayed by *Theodatus*, who was called in by her to be her assistant in the Government of the Kingdom, he having slain her, made himself King, and by that means becoming odious to the *Ostrogoths*, gave occasion to the Emperour *Justinian*, to hope he might drive him out of *Italy*, to which end he deputed *Bellisarius* his General who had already subdued *Africa*, and either driven out the *Vandals*, or forced them to submit. *Bellisarius* had all that time possessed himself of *Sicily*, from whence passing into *Italy*, he takes *Naples* and *Rome*. The *Goths* incensed at these losses

Atalaric
King of *Italy*

Betrayed by
Theodatus,
who

Makes him-
self King

Bellisarius
General for
the Empe-
rour.

Theodatus
slain, and
Vitigetes
King

Bellisarius
recalled.

Totila King
of the Goths

Takes Rome

losses kill their King *Theodatus* whom they thought the occasion of them, and in his place chose *Vitigetes*, who after some stragglings was by *Bellisarius* besieged in *Ravenna*, and taken; but ere *Bellisarius* could to the full pursue this victory he was recalled by *Justinian*; And *John*, and *Vitalis*, constituted in his stead, persons quite different from the other, both in courage and conduct. Whereupon the *Goths* taking heart, created *Idovaldas*, then Governour of *Venona* their King. After whom (for he was kill'd) came *Totila* to the Kingdom, who gave such shocks to the forces of the Empire, that he recovered *Tuscany*, and reduced the Emperors Captains to the defence of the last cast, of all that *Bellisarius* had recovered; which made *Justinian* resolve to send him again into *Italy*, who returning but with slender forces, rather lost that reputation he before had got, then gained any new. For *Totila* whilst *Bellisarius* with his Army lay encamped at *Ostia*, in the very face of him took *Rome*, but seeing he could neither safely hold, nor desert it, he for the most part dismantled it, driving out the people, and leading away the Senators Captive, and slighting *Bellisarius* marched into *Calabria* to meet those forces that came to his recruit. *Bellisarius* seeing *Rome* thus deserted, made an honourable attempt, for entering the ruins of *Rome* with all imaginable celerity he began to rebuild the walls of it, and recall the inhabitants.

inhabitants. But fortune was averse to this his noble enterprize, for *Justinian* being at that instant assailed by the *Parthians*, once more recalled him, and he in obedience to his Lord, deserts *Italy*, leaving that Province to the discretion of *Totila*, who soon retakes *Rome*: but treated it not now with the former cruelty, for at the intreaty of *S. Benedict*, a man then in great reputation for his holiness, he strove rather to restore it. Mean while *Justinian* having made peace with the *Parthians*, designed to send a fresh Army to the relief of *Italy*, but was diverted by the Invasions of the *Scythians*, a new Northern people, who having passed the *Danube*, were entered in *Illyria* and *Thracia*: so that *Totila* was in a manner the sole possessor of *Italy*: but *Justinian* having overthrown the *Scythians*, sends his Army thither under the command of *Narses* the Eunuch, a man most expert in war: who arriving in *Italy*, defeats and kills *Totila*, and whilst the remaining *Goths* made their retreat to *Pavia*, creating there *Teja* their King, *Narses* possesses himself of *Rome*, and after marching towards *Teja*, fights him near *Nocera*, and overthrows and kills him. By which victory the very name of the *Goths* was extinct in *Italy*, who for about seventy years from *Theodorick* their first King, to *Teja*, had there Lorded it. No sooner was *Italy* freed from the *Goths* but *Justinian* dyed, leaving *Justin* his son his Successor, who counsell'd

Bellisarius
again recall'd.

Narses sent
into *Italy*.

Justinians
Death.

Dukes first
in Italy.

Alboinus
King of the
Lombards

counselled by his wife *Sophia* recalls *Narses* out of *Italy*, and sends *Longinus* in his stead. *Longinus* followed the method others had done before, residing in *Ravenna*: but besides that, he imposed a new form of Government; not constituting Lieutenants of Provinces as the *Goths* had done, but making Chiefs of every important City under the Title of Dukes, And in these kind of distributions he honoured *Rome* no more than any other place; for taking away the Consuls and Senate (which till that day had continued) he reduced it under the Command of a Duke; whom he yearly sent from *Ravenna*, and called it the *Roman Dutchy*; and to the Emperours Lieutenant who governed all *Italy*, he gave the stile of *Exarqb.* This division much facilitated the ruine of *Italy*, and contributed to the *Lombards* possessing themselves of it with the more celerity. *Narses* was highly incensed against the Emperour for taking from him the Government of a Province he had conquered with his own Blood and Valour; & the more, because *Sophia* not content with the injury of having made him be recalled, had added scornful and reproachful terms to it, giving out that she would have him set to spin amongst the other Eunucks. Insomuch that *Narses*, swelling with rage and Indignation perswades *Alboinus* King of the *Lombards*, then reigning in *Pannonia*, to come and possess himself of *Italy*. The *Lombards* had, as we have said before, seated themselves

themselves in those Territories on the banks of the *Danube*, deserted by the *Herules* and *Turingians* when their King *Odoacer* led them into *Italy*; where, having some time resided, and their Kingdom descending upon *Alboinus* a bold and warlike man, they passed the *Danube*, and encountering *Comundus* King of the *Lepides* then possessed of *Pannonia*, overthrew and slew him. Amongst the Captives *Alboinus* finds *Rosamund* the Daughter of *Comundus*, and taking her to wife becomes Lord of *Pannonia*, but out of a brutish fierceness in his nature, he makes a drinking cup of *Comundus's* skull, and out of it used to carouse in memory of that victory. Invited now by *Narses*, with whom he had been in league during the *Gothick* war, he leaves *Pannonia* to the *Huns*, who as we have said, were after the death of *Attila* returned into their own Countrey, and comes into *Italy*, which finding so strangely divided, he in an instant possesses himself of *Pavia*, *Milan*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, all *Tuscany*, and the greatest part of *Flaminia* at this day called *Romania*. So that by these great and sudden victories judging himself already Conquerour of *Italy*, he makes a solemn feast at *Verona*, and in the heat of wine growing merry, causes *Comundus's* skull to be filled full of wine, and would needs have it presented to Queen *Rosamund*; who sate at table over against him, telling her so loud that all might hear, that in such

Invited into
Italy by
Narses.

Alboinus
death.

a time of mirth he would have her drink with her father; those words were as so many darts in the poor Ladies bosome; and consulting with revenge, she bethought her self, how *Almachildis* a noble Lombard, young and valiant; courted one of the Ladies of her bed-chamber, with her she contrives, that she should promise *Almachildis*, the kindness of admitting him by night to her chamber; and *Almachildis* according to her assignation being received into a dark room, lyes with the Queen, whilest he thought he lay with the Lady, who after the fact discovers herself, offering to his choice either the killing of *Alboinus*, and enjoying her and the Crown; or the being made his sacrifice for defiling his bed. *Almachildis* consents to kill *Alboinus*; but they seeing afterwards their designs of seizing the Kingdom prove unsuccessful, nay rather fearing to be put to death by the Lombards (such love bore they to *Alboinus*) they fled with all the Royal Treasure to *Longinus* at *Ravenna*, who honourably received them. During these turmoils, *Justin* dyes, and *Tiberius* was made Emperour in his stead, who employed in the *Parthian* war could give no relief to *Italy*, which made *Longinus* think it a convenient time for him by means of *Rosamund* and her treasure to make himself King of the Lombards and all *Italy*, he consults with her about it, and persuades her to kill *Almachildis*, and marry him, which she accepting, prepares a cup of poison

poison and with her own hand gives it *Almachildis*, as he came thirsty out of the Bath, who having drunk half of it, and finding it begin to work inwardly, suspecting what it was, forces *Rosamund* to drink the rest, so that in few hours both dyed; and *Longinus* lost his hopes of being King. Mean while the Lombards assembling in *Pavia*, which they had made the principal seat of their Kingdom, chose *Clevis* King; who rebuilt *Inola* destroyed by *Narses*, took *Rimini*, and almost all the other Towns as far as *Rome*, but in this course of victory dies. This *Clevis* was so cruel, not only to strangers, but to his own Lombards, that they terrified with the regal power, would no more create a King, but made choice among themselves of thirty Dukes or Captains to govern. The result of which determination was the cause that the Lombards never became masters of all *Italy*, that their Dominions never reached farther than *Beneventum*, and that *Rome*, *Ravenna*, *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Padua*, *Monfelicce*, *Parma*, *Bolonia*, *Faenza*, *Turli* and *Cesani* did many of them for a long time defend themselves, and some of them never came under their Dominion, for the want of a King made them less apt for war, and when afterwards they did create one, the time they had been free had begot in them a humour of being less obedient, and more prone to disorders among themselves, which first put a stop to their victories, and

Clevis King
of the Lombards.

Thirty
Dukes.

The growth
of the Popes
Authority.

at length drove them out of *Italy*. The affairs of the *Lombards* being therefore in this condition, *Longinus* and the *Romans* made peace with them, upon the terms that both parties should lay down Arms, and each possess what they held. About this time the Popes began to grasp a larger authority than ever they had done, for the first successors of *S. Peter* being revered by all men for their miracles and holy life, the Christian Religion spread so far by their example that Princes were constrained (to avoid confusion in the world) to yield obedience to it. The Emperour therefore being become Christian, and having left *Rome*, and seated himself in *Constantinople*, it followed (as we have said in the beginning) that the Empire fell to decay, and the Church of *Rome* did the more easily flourish. Notwithstanding which, until the coming of the *Lombards* (whilest all *Italy* was subject to the Emperour or Kings) the Popes never assumed any further authority, than what the Reverence paid to their Doctrine and Piety gave them; In all other things they submitted either to the Emperour or King, and sometimes were by them put to death, and as their Ministers called to account for their actions. But that which made them gain a potency, and be looked upon as of some moment in the affairs of *Italy*, was *Theodorick* King of the *Goths* choosing *Ravenna* for his seat; for *Rome* being left without a Prince, the *Romans*

mans for their refuge took occasion to yield obedience to the Popes: yet by this means their authority increased not very much, only the Church of *Rome* obtained the precedence of that of *Ravenna*. But after the coming of the *Lombards*, *Italy* being divided into several parts, gave the Popes opportunity of becoming more brisk: for they being as it were the head of *Rome*, both the Emperour of *Constantinople* and the *Lombards* had so much respect for them, that the *Romans*, by means of the Popes, treated with, and made leagues with *Longinus* and the *Lombards*, not as Subjects but allies. And thus the Popes sometimes siding with the *Lombards*, and sometimes with the *Greeks* increased their own power and dignity. And the ruine of the Eastern Empire succeeding (which happened about these times under *Heracleus* the Emperour, the *Sclavonians* before-mentioned again invading *Illiria*, and having mastered it, calling it after their own name *Sclavonia*, and other parts of the Empire being first overrun by the *Persians*, then by the *Saracens*, who under *Mahomet* broke out of *Arabia*, and lastly by the *Turks*, *Syria*, *Africa* and *Egypt* being lop'd off from it) the Popes having no more that Empire (now grown so weak) to fly to for refuge, and on the other side the power of the *Lombards* dayly increasing, they thought it high time to seek out new friends, and accordingly had recourse to the Kings of *France* for support.

port. So that all the wars hereafter made by the *Barbarians* in *Italy* were at the Popes instigation, and all the Armies that infested it were for the most part called in by them, which course they have continued even to these very times. And this is it, has still kept *Italy* weak and divided; therefore in discoursing things following, we shall not treat further of the fall of the Empire, now quite laid on the ground, but of the growth of Papacy, and of those other principalities, which had the rule of *Italy* from that time till the coming of *Charles* the Eighth, setting forth how Popes first by excommunication, and then by them and arms together grew at once to be terrible, and to be revered; and how by ill using both the one and the other, they have utterly lost the first, and stand (as to the last) at others' discretion. But to return to the matter in hand: *Gregory* the third coming to the Papacy, and *Astolphus* to the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, the last contrary to all agreements, seizes *Ravenna*, and makes war upon the Pope. Whereupon *Gregory* for the reasons before recited, relying no longer upon the Emperour of *Constantinople* now so weakened, nor upon the faith of the *Lombards* so often violattd, sends for aid to *France* to King *Pepin* the Second, who from Lord of *Austria* and *Brabant* was become King of *France*, not so much by his own personal valour as that of his father *Charles Martel* and his Grandfather *Pepin*.
For

Astolphus
King of
Lombardy
seizes *Ravenna*.
Pope *Gregory*
craves aid
of *Pepin*
King of
France.

Austria

For *Charles Martel* being Regent of that Kingdom, gave that memorable defeat to the *Sarazens* near *Tours* on the river *Loire*, wherein above two hundred thousand of them were slain, whereupon *Pepin* his son fortified with his fathers reputation, and his own virtue, became afterward King of that Countrey. To whom Pope *Gregory* (as we have said) sent for aid against the *Lombards*, which *Pepin* promised to send him, but desired first to see him, and be honoured with his presence. Wherefore *Gregory* went to *France*, passing through the Territories of the *Lombards* his enemies, without any stop or molestation, so much was the veneration then paid to Religion: *Gregory* coming into *France* was highly honoured by that King, and sent back with an Army into *Italy*. who besieged the *Lombards* in *Pavia*, whereupon *Astolphus* much streightened, was forced to come to an agreement with the *French*; and they granted them peace at the Popes intercession, who would not have the death of his enemy, but rather that he should be converted and live. But *Pepin's* Forces once returned to *France*, *Astolphus* kept not the league, whereupon the Pope had again recourse to King *Pepin*, who sends a new Army into *Italy*, overthrows the *Lombards*, takes *Ravenna*, and against the mind and will of the Greek Emperour, gives it to the Pope, together with all the Lands belonging to that Exarchate, adding to them

Pope *Gregory*
goes into
France.

Desiderius
gets the
Kingdom of
Lombardy.

Is with his
children tak-
en prisoner
by *Charles*
the Great.

Charles
made Empe-
rour;

the Country of *Urbino*, and the Territory of *La Marca*. But *Astolphus* upon the consigning over these Lands dyed, and *Desiderius* a Lombard Duke of *Tuscany* takes arms to seize the Kingdom, craving aid of the Pope, and promising him his friendship, who accepting the offer, granted his assistance, whereupon all the other Princes submitted. And *Desiderius* was at first faithful to his word, and perfected the consignment of those Lands to the Pope, according to the agreement made with King *Pepin*, nor came there any more Exarch from *Constantinople* to *Ravenna*, but it was governed at the Popes Arbitriment. *Pepin* soon after dyed, and his son *Charles* succeeded him, this was he who for his extraordinary feats of war was surnamed the Great, or *Charlemain*. In the mean time *Theodorus* succeeded in the Papacy, he fell at variance with *Desiderius*, and was by him besieged in *Rome*: whereupon the Pope had recourse to *Charles* for succour, who passing the *Alps*, besieges *Desiderius* in *Pavia*, and taking him and his children, sends them prisoners into *France*, going himself forward to visit the Pope at *Rome*, where he pronounced that the Pope being the Vicar of God, was not to be judged by man, and the Pope and people of *Rome* made him Emperour. And whereas the Emperours used to confirm the Popes, the Emperours now in their Election begun to stand in need of the Popes, and then came the Empire to loose in point of Honour, and

and the Church to gain and increase, so that by degrees it's authority more and more increased over temporal Princes. The Lombards had now been two hundred twenty two years in *Italy*, and were reputed strangers in nothing but in name, And *Charles* minded to regulate *Italy*, which was in the time of Pope *Leo* the Third, was content they should dwell in the places where they were born, and called that Province after their name *Lombardy*. And because they should bear a Reverence to the Roman name, he would have all the adjoining Countrey once subject to the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, stiled *Romania*, besides he created his son *Pepin* King of *Italy*, whose jurisdiction extended as far as *Beneventum*, and all the rest belonged to the Greek Emperour, with whom *Charles* had entred into alliance. *Pascal* the first was at this time advanced to the Papacy, and the Priests of the Church of *Rome* to have a nearer and closer correspondence with the Pope, and to qualifie themselves for electing him, to adorn their power with a more eminent title, began to call themselves Cardinals, and arrogated so much to themselves, especially after having excluded the people of *Rome* from any voice in the election, that seldom was a Pope chosen out of their number; whereupon after the death of *Pascal*, *Eugenius* the Second was created Pope from the Title of Cardinal of *Sancta Sabina*. And *Italy* (now fallen into the hands of the French)

Makes his
son *Pepin*
King of the
Romans.

First consti-
tution of
Cardinals.

Eugenius
the second
Pope.

French) changed somewhat of its manners and customs. The Popes having assumed a supremacy in Temporalities, and the *French* having introduced the Titles of Earls and Marquesses, as *Longinus* Exarch of *Ravenna* did that of Dukes. After some Popes *Ossorco*, (or hogs mouth) was advanced to the Papacy, who because of the bruitishness of his own name, took that of *Sergius* which gave original to the change of names since used by all Popes at their election. Mean while *Charles* the Emperour dyed, and *Lewis* his son succeeded in his stead, after whose decease, arose such difference among his children, that the Empire in the time of his Nephews, was snatch'd away from the house of *France*, and transported to the *Germans*, the first German Emperour being called *Aimulphus*. Nor did the family of *Charles* by their own discords only lose the Empire, but likewise the Kingdom of *Italy*; for the *Lombards* taking courage so oppressed the Pope and *Romans*, that the Princes not knowing whither to fly for refuge, were necessitated to create *Berengarius* Duke of *Friuli* King. These accidents encouraged the *Huns*, who inhabited *Pannonia* to assail *Italy*, but losing the Battle to *Berengarius*, they were by him forced to return into *Pannonia*, or rather into *Hungary*, for so was that Province from them now called. *Romanus* was at this time Emperour of *Constantinople*, having usurped that Empire from *Constantine*,

When Popes first changed names.

Charles the Emperour dies, and *Lewis* succeeds.

Aimulphus the first German Emperour.

Berengarius King of *Italy*; Beats the *Huns*.

Romanus Emperour of the East.

Constantine, whose Admiral he had been: And because upon that revolution, *Puglia* and *Calabria* which (as we have said before) were subject to that Empire, had rebelled, enraged against them, he licensed or permitted at least the *Saracens* to invade those Countreys, who thence entered, not only possessed themselves of those Provinces, but attempted the expugnation of *Rome*. But the *Romans* (since *Berengarius* was employed in their defence against the *Huns*) made *Alberigo* Duke of *Tuscany* their General, and by his valour and conduct saved *Rome* from the *Saracens*, who raising their Siege, planted themselves in a Rock or Fortres upon mount *Gargano*, and there lorded it over *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and oppressed the rest of *Italy*. Thus sadly was *Italy* in those times afflicted; towards the *Alps* wasted by the *Huns*, and towards *Naples* by the *Saracens*. Long did it endure these pangs under three *Berengarius*'s successively, during all which time the Pope and Church were sorely distressed, not knowing whither to address themselves for relief, by reason of the dissentions of the *Western* Princes, and the weakness of the *Eastern* Empire. The City of *Genova* and all that Coast were miserably ruined by the *Saracens*, whence sprung the first enlargement of *Pisa*, whither multitudes of people driven from their habitations fled. These things happened in the year of Christ 931. But *Otho* the son of *Henry* and *Matilda*, and Duke of *Saxony*

Saracens invade *Italy*;

How *Pisa* grew great;

Saxony being chosen Emperour, a man of great prudence and reputation; *Agabitus* then Pope, besought him to come into *Italy*, and deliver him from the Tyranny of the *Berengarius's*. The Estates of *Italy* stood then in this posture, *Lombardy* was under *Berengarius* the Third, and *Albertus* his son. *Tuscany* and *Romania* were governed by a Lieutenant of the Emperour of the West, *Puglia* & *Calabria* were partly subject to the Eastern Emperour, & partly to the *Saracens*. In *Rome* two of the Nobility were yearly created Consuls, who governed according to the Ancient Custom, having joyned with them a Tribune or Prefect of the People. They had a Council of xii, who yearly appointed Superintendents to the Towns under their charge. The Popes had in *Rome*, and in all *Italy* more or less authority acting as the Emperours, or those most in power favoured them. *Otho* the Emperour came then into *Italy*, and deprived the *Berengarius* of that Kingdom they had enjoyed for fifty five years restoring the Pope to his Dignity. He had a son and a Grand-child both called likewise *Otho*, who one after the other succeeded him in the Empire. And in the time of *Otho* the Third, Pope *Gregory* the Fifth being expelled by the Romans, *Otho* comes into *Italy* and restores him. And the Pope to revenge himself on the Romans, took away their authority of creating the Emperour, and gave it to six Princes of *Germany*, three Bishops

cord

Electors of
the Empire
appointed.

Mentz,

Mentz, *Triers* and *Cologne*, and three temporal Princes, *Brandenburgh*, the *Palatinate*, and *Saxony*. This was in the year 1002. After the death of *Otho* the Third, *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria* was by the Electors created Emperour, and twelve years afterwards, crowned by Pope *Stephen* the Eighth, both *Henry* and *Simeonda* his wife were persons of a holy life, which is apparent by the many Temples endowed and built by them; among which was the Church of *S. Miniate* near the City of *Florence*. *Henry* dyed anno 1024. to whom succeeded *Conradus* of *Swevia*, after him *Henry* the Second, he came to *Rome*, and there being a Schism in the Church of three Popes he put them all down and caused *Clement* the Second to be chosen. *Italy* was now governed partly by the people, and partly by the Princes, and partly by the Ministers of the Emperour; amongst whom the chief, and him whom all the rest had recourse to, was called Chancellour. The most potent among the Princes was *Godfrid* and the Countess *Matilda* his Lady, daughter to *Beatrice*, sister to *Henry* the Second, she and her husband possessed *Lucca*, *Parma*, *Reggio* and *Mantua*, together with all that is now called the Patrimony of *S. Peter*. The ambition of the people of *Rome* was a sore thorn in the sides of the Popes, though they had formerly made use of the Popes power to rescue them from the Emperours; but after having got the rule of

Henry Duke
of *Bavaria*
chosen.

Conradus of
Suevia.
Henry the Se-
cond.

the City, and reformed it according to pleasure, they as suddenly became enemies to the Popes: and more injuries did they receive from that people, than from any other Christian Prince. Nay in that very time that the Popes with their excommunications made all the West tremble, did the people of *Rome* stand out in Rebellion, and the contest on either side was, who should take away the others reputation and authority. To express which *Nicolas* the Second, being advanced to the Papacy, as *Gregory* the Fifth had taken from the *Romans* the power of creating Emperours, so *Nicolas* deprived them of having any concurrence in the election of Popes, which he ordained should belong to the Cardinals only. And not content with this, he made a compact with the Princes of *Calabria* and *Apulia*, upon terms we shall tell hereafter; by which he constrained all Officers sent from the *Romans* throughout their jurisdiction, to pay their obedience to the Pope, and some of them he displaced. After the death of *Nicolas*, was a schism in the Church, for the Clergy of *Lombardy* would not submit to *Alexander* the Second, elected at *Rome*, but chose *Cadulus* of *Parma* Antipope. *Henry* who abhorred the power of the Popes, gave warning to *Alexander* to renounce the Papacy, and summon'd the Cardinals into *Germany* to choose a new pope. Whereby he became the first Prince that felt the anguish of spiritual wounds,

for

Nicolas the
Second,
Pope.

Schism in
the Church.

for the Pope called a new Council at *Rome*, and deprived *Henry* of his Crown and Empire. And some of the people of *Italy* sided with the Pope, and some with *Henry*. And hence sprung first up the faction of the *Guelfs* and the *Ghibellines*, so that *Italy* now at quiet from barbarous inundations begun to tear out its own Bowels. *Henry* thus excommunicated was forced by his own people to come into *Italy*, and bare-foot and bare-leg'd, on his knees ask'd the Pope pardon, which was done in the year 1080, and yet there happened a fresh contest between the Pope and *Henry*, whereupon the Pope again excommunicates him, and the Emperour sent his son called likewise *Henry*, and by the help of the *Romans*, who hated the Pope, besieged him in his Castle. Whereupon *Robert Guiscard* advances out of *Puglia* to his relief, and *Henry* not staying for him returns alone into *Germany*. The *Romans* continued still obstinate, whereupon *Rome* was again sack'd by *Robert*, and reduced once more into those heaps of ruins from whence so many Popes had before restored it. And because from this *Robert* began the order of the the Kingdom of *Naples*, it will not be superfluous to give a concise narrative of his Actions and Nation. Those discords which happened amongst the Heirs of *Charlemain* (of which we have before spoken) gave encouragement to a Northern people called *Normans*, to invade *France*, and they pos-

sessed

Henry submits to the
Pope.

Is again ex-
communi-
cate.

Robert Guiscard first
Founder of
the King-
dom of *Na-
ples*.

possessed themselves of that Countrey which at this day from them is called *Normandy*. Of these people some came into *Italy*, in the time that that Province was at once infested by the *Berengarii*, *Saracens* and *Huns*, and possessing themselves of some Lands in *Romania*, did during all those tumults valiantly maintain them. *Trancred* one of those Norman Princes had several sons, and among others *William* called *Ferrabur*, and *Robert* surnamed *Guiscard*, and the tumults of *Italy* were now in some measure ceased. Yet the *Saracens* held *Sicily*, and made dayly inroads on the Seacoasts of *Italy*. Whereupon *William* enters into a League with the Princes of *Capua* and *Salernum*, and with *Melarchus* the Greek, that was the Emperours Lieutenant in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, to invade *Sicily*, and in case that they succeeded, it was agreed that each should have a fourth part both of the spoil and of the Countrey. They had happy success, and driving out the *Saracens* possessed themselves of *Sicily*. But after the victory, *Melarchus* privily bringing in a strong party of *Greeks*, takes possession of the Island for the Emperour, and only divides the spoil; which mightily discontented *William*, but he smothered his resentments, till he had a fitter opportunity, and came out of *Sicily* with the Princes of *Salernum* and *Capua*, but as soon as they had parted from him to go home, *William* returns not unto *Romania*, but turning aside towards

towards *Puglia*, and presently takes *Melfi*, and from thence in a short time in despite of all the power of the Greek Emperour, makes himself Lord of all *Apulia* and *Calabria*, over which his brother *Robert Guiscard* reigned in the time of Pope *Nicholas* the Second. And because there happened some difference betwixt him and his Nephews about the inheritance of that State, he made use of the Popes authority to compose it; which the Pope willingly complied with him in, desirous to gain *Robert* to defend him against the German Emperours, and the insolency of the people of *Rome*, which he afterwards did, when as we have before declared, he at the instance of *Gregory* the Eighth chased *Henry* from *Rome*, and tamed that people. To *Robert* succeeded *Roger* and *William* his sons, to whose Dominion was joined *Naples* and all that Countrey between *Naples* and *Rome*, and afterwards *Sicily*, of which *Robert* made himself master, and after that again *William* going to *Constantinople* to marry the Emperours Daughter, *Roger* fell upon his Estates, and took them; heightened by which new acquisitions, he was the first of that line who made himself be called King of *Italy*: but afterward contenting himself with the title of King of *Puglia* and *Sicily*, he was the first gave name and beginning to that Kingdom, which is still maintained within the antient limits, though it hath often

D changed

Roger and William sons of Robert Guiscard.

Roger first of that line King of Italy.

The Holy
War.

Knights of
Jerusalem.

changed not only blood, but nation; for the *Norman* race decaying, that Kingdom fell to the *Germans*, then to the *French*, then to the *Arrogonians*, and is at present possessed by the *Flemmings*: *Urban* the Second was now come to the Papacy, who being hated in *Rome*, and not thinking himself safe in *Italy* by reason of its divisions, undertook a noble Design, and going into *France* with all his Clergy, and gathering together multitudes of people in *Antwerp*, by an Oration he made against the Infidels, he so stirred up the minds of men, that they determined that war against the *Saracens* in *Asia*, which afterwards happened were called *Croisado's*, because all that went, wore upon their arms, or upon their upper garments a red Cross. The heads of this undertaking were *Godfrey*, *Eustachius*, and *Adolvin* of *Bulloign*, Earls of *Bolonia*, and one *Peter* a Hermit much renowned for his piety and prudence, to whom many Princes and much people flock'd with monies, and many went voluntarily to this war without expecting any pay (so much could Religion prevail in the hearts of men) moved thereto by the Example of their Captains and Leaders. This enterprize was very glorious in its beginnings, for not only all *Asia minor*, but *Syria* and part of *Egypt* fell into the hands of the *Christians*, and this it was gave birth to the order of Knights of *Jerusalem*, which at this day are reigning and resident

resident in the Island of *Rhodes*, the only strong Bulwark against the *Turks*. There now sprung up likewise the order of Knights Templars, who by reason of the lewdness of their manners soon fell to decay. In progress of time sundry accidents happened, whereby many whole nations as well as particular persons became famous. In favour of this enterprize went the Kings of *England* and *France*, the Nobles and people of *Pisa*, *Venice* and *Genoua*, who all gained a high reputation; fighting a long time with various successes against *Saladine* the *Saracen Sultan*; but in the end his valour and the Christians dissensions rob'd them of all that glory, they had at first attained to, and after ninety years they were driven out of all that they had with so much honour and so happily recovered. After the death of *Urban*, *Paschal* the Second was created Pope, and *Henry* the Fourth advanced to the Empire: He comes to *Rome* feigning a Friendship for the Pope, but afterwards puts the Pope and all his Clergy in Prison, nor would he release them, till full power was granted him to dispose of the *German* Church as he pleased, about this time dyed the Countess *Mathilda*, and left the Church heir to her Estates: After the death of *Pascal* and *Henry* succeeded divers Popes and divers Emperours, till such time as the Papacy came to *Alexander* the Third, and the Empire to *Frederick* the Swede, surnamed *Barbarossa*. The Popes

Templers.

Paschal the
second
Pope.

Alex under
the third
Pope.
Fréd. Bar-
barossa Em-
perour.

had all these times along been much perplexed by the Emperours and People of *Rome*, but their vexation was in the time of *Barbarossa* mightily increased. *Frederick* was an excellent Soldier, but of so haughty a spirit, that he could not endure to yield to the Pope; yet at his Election he came to *Rome* to be crowned, and returned peaceably back into *Germany*: But he held not long in that quiet temper, for returning into *Italy*, to reduce some Towns in *Lombardy*, had refused him obedience, it happened at the same time that the Cardinal of *St. Clement*, a Native of *Rome*, divided himself from Pope *Alexander*, and by a Junctio of Cardinals was created Pope. The Emperour *Frederick* lay then encamped at *Cremona*, to whom *Alexander* sending to complain of the Anti-pope, received answer, that they should both appear before him, and then he would give sentence which of them should be Pope. This answer displeased *Alexander*, and because he observed *Frederick* inclinable to favour the Anti-pope, he Excommunicates him, and flees to *Phillip* King of *France*. Mean while *Frederick* pursuing the War in *Lombardy*, takes and disinantes *Milan*, whereupon *Verona* *Padua*, and *Vicenza* made a League together against him for their common defence. During these transactions the Anti-pope dyes, and the Emperour in his stead creates *Guido* of *Cremona*. In this Interval of time, the *Romans* by reason of the Popes absence,

An Anti-pope in *Italy*.

The Anti-pope dyes and another set up.

sence, and the impediments the Emperour met with in *Lombardy*, had reassumed some authority, and went about requiring Homage of those Towns had formerly been their subjects. And because the *Tuscolans* would not submit to their Authority, attempted to force them to it; but they, being assisted by *Frederick*, fell upon the *Romans* Army, and routed them with so horrible a slaughter, that *Rome* was never since either so rich or populous. However Pope *Alexander* was returned to *Rome*, hoping he might be very secure there, because of the Enmity the *Romans* bore to *Frederick*, and of the Enemies which he had in *Lombardy*. But *Frederick* laying aside respect of all things else, goes and encamps before *Rome*, where *Alexander* stay'd not his coming, but flees for refuge to *William* King of *Puglia*, who remained heir of that Kingdom after the death of *Roger*. But the Plague getting into *Frederick's* army, forced him to raise his Siege, and return into *Germany*: And those Towns of *Lombardy* which had conspired against him, the better to oppress *Pavia* and *Tortona*, which held on the Imperial side, built a City to be the seat of the War, which they called *Alexandria*, in honour of Pope *Alexander* and scorn of *Frederick*. *Guido* the Anti-pope likewise dying, *John* of *Fermo* was set up in his stead, who protected by the Imperial party, resided in *Montefiasconi*: Mean while Pope *Alexander* was gone to *Tusculum*, invited thither by that people,

The Romans defeated by the Tuscolanes.

Ambassadors
to the Pope
about Thomas
Becket.

King Henry's
submission.

that by vertue of his Authority, they might be the better defended from the *Romans*. Hither came to him Ambassadors from *Henry King of England*, to let him know that their King had not any hand in the death of *St. Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury*, as was publicly reported. Whereupon the Pope sent two Cardinals into *England* to enquire into the truth of things; and though they could not find the King in any manifest fault, yet because of the infamy and scandal of the sin, and for that he had not honoured him as he deserved, they put him to this penance, that Convoking together all the Barons of his Kingdom, he should clear himself upon Oath before them, and besides should presently send two hundred Soldiers paid for a whole year to *Jerusalem*; and should himself be obliged with as great an Army as he could raise, to go there in person before three years expired. And further, that he should annul all acts any way infringing the liberty of the Clergy, and give consent that any of his Subjects that pleased might appeal to *Rome*: All which conditions were accepted by *Henry*, and that great King submitted to a sentence, which a private man would now blush to stoop to. But though the Pope exercised such authority over Princes so far distant, yet could he not reduce the people of *Rome* to obedience, whom he could not prevail with to grant him residence there, though he promised, not to meddle with any but Ecclesi-

Ecclesiastical affairs, so much are appearances more dreaded at a distance then nearer hand. *Frederick* mean while was returned into *Italy*, and whilst he was preparing new War against the Pope, all his Prelates and Lords declared they would forsake him, unless he would reconcile himself to the Church; So that he was constrained to go and adore the Pope at *Venice* where they came to accord. By which agreement the Pope deprived the Emperour of all Authority over *Rome*, and nominated *William King of Sicily and Puglia* for his confederate. And *Frederick* of a temper not able to live in quiet, goes to the *Holy Land*, to wreak that rage and ambition upon the *Mahometans*, which he fail'd of having satisfied against the Vicar of *Christ*. But coming to the River *Cydus*, and delighted with the clearness of its Streams, he went to wash himself in it, and of that disorder dyed. *Frederick* thus dead, the Pope had only the contumacy of the *Romans* to contest with. And after many disputes about the creation of Consuls, it was agreed that the *Romans* should elect them according to their ancient Customs, but that they should not enter upon the Magistracy, till they had sworn fealty to the Church; this agreement made *John* the Anti-pope flee to *Montauban*, where he soon after dyed. Mean while *William King of Naples* dyes, and the Pope designs to possess himself of that Kingdom; that Prince having left no other Male-Child-

Frederick
submits to
the Pope.

Go to the
Holy War

And dyes in
the way.

The Pope
designs to
seize the
Kingdom
of *Naples*.

Henry Son of
Frederick
made Empe-
rour.

And King
of Naples.

Henry dyes.

dren but *Tancred* his base Son. But the Barons would by no means consent to the Pope, but would have *Tancred* for their King. *Celestine* the Third was now Pope, who desirous to snatch that Kingdom out of *Tancred's* hands; contrived to make *Henry* Son of *Frederick* Emperour, and promised him the Kingdom of *Naples*, upon condition he should restore to the Church those Lands appertained to it; and to make the matter more easie, he takes out of the Monastery *Constance* the Daughter of *William* already well stricken in years, and gives her *Henry* to Wife. And thus passed the Kingdom of *Naples* from the *Normans*, who had been the Founders of it, to the *Germans*. *Henry* the Emperour having first settled the affairs of *Germany*, comes into *Italy* with his Wife *Constance*, and his Son of about four years old, called *Frederick*, and without much difficulty makes himself master of the Kingdom; *Tancred* being already dead, and having left behind him only an Infant called *Roger*. Sometime after *Henry* dyes in *Sicily*, and *Frederick* succeeds him in the Kingdom; And in the Empire *Otho* Duke of *Saxony*, made so by the favour of *Innocent* the Third, but as soon as he had got the Crown, contrary to all imagination, *Otho* becomes an Enemy of the Popes, seizes on *Romania*, and prepares to invade the Kingdom: whereupon the Pope Excommunicates him, and he being forsaken by all, the Electors chose *Frederick* King of

Frederick
King of Na-
ples Empe-
rour.

of *Naples* Emperour. *Frederick* comes to *Rome* for the Crown, but the Pope refuses to crown him, fearful of his power, and wishing rather to drive him out of *Italy*, as he had driven *Otho*. Whereupon *Frederick*, in anger goes into *Germany*, and after many battails with *Otho* overcomes him. Mean time *Innocent* dyes, who besides other his famous works built the Hospital of the Holy Ghost at *Rome*, to him succeeded *Honourius* the Third, in whose time sprung up the Orders of *St. Dominick* and *St. Francis* in the year M CC XVIII. This Pope Crowns *Frederick*, and *John* descended from *Baldwin* King of *Jerusalem* (who was with the remnant of the Christians in *Asia*, and yet held the Title) gives him his Daughter to wife, and for a Dower consigns to him the Title of that Kingdom, whence it comes, that whoever is King of *Naples*, stiles himself King of *Jerusalem*. In *Italy* they now lived after this manner: The *Romans* made no Consuls, but instead of them they made sometimes one, sometimes more Senators. The League likewise continued that was made amongst the Cities of *Lombardy* against the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*, which were *Milan*, *Brescia*, *Mantoua*, with most part of the Cities of *Romania*, and besides them *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padoua* and *Trevigi*. On the Emperours part were *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Modena* and *Trent*. The other Cities and Castles of *Lombardy*, *Romania* and *Marca Trevigi-*

The State of
Italy.

Trevigiana took according to the necessity of the times now one part, now the other. There was come into *Italy*, in the time of *Otho* the Third one *Ezelmo*, of whom remained in *Italy*, one Son that begot another *Ezelmo*. He being rich and potent, addressed himself to *Frederick* the Second, who (as has been said) was become enemy to the Pope, he took *Verona* and *Mantona*, dismantled *Vicenza*, garrison'd *Padua* and defeating the army of the Colleagues, takes his course towards *Tuscany*. Inasmuch that *Ezelmo* had subdued all *Marca Trevigiana*; but he could not Master *Ferrara*, it being too well defended by *Azone d' Este*, and those people the Pope had in *Lombardy*. Whereupon raising his Siege, the Pope gave that City in Fee to *Azone d' Este*, from whom are descended the present Lords of it. *Frederick* stay'd at *Pisa*, desirous to make himself Lord of *Tuscany*, and by striving to distinguish between his friends and enemies, he sow'd those seeds of division which occasioned the ruine of all *Italy*: For the factions of the *Guelfs* and the *Ghibellines* multiplied; Those who followed the Church being called *Guelfs*, and those who sided with the Emperour *Ghibellines*; in *Pistoia* were these names first heard. *Frederick* departing from *Pisa*, wastes and destroys the Territories of the Church. So that the Pope having no other remedy, sets on foot the *Croisado* against him, as his Predecessors had done against the Infidels: And *Frederick*

The Factions of the *Guelfs* and *Ghibellines* multiply.

derick, that he might not in an instant be forsaken of his people, as *Frederick Barbarossa*, and other his Ancestors had been, hires great numbers of *Sarazens*, and to oblige them to his service, and erect to himself a Bulwark in *Italy*, firm enough to withstand the Church, without fear of the Popes curses; he gives unto them *Nocera* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, that having a refuge of their own, they might with more security serve him. *Innocent* the Fourth was now come to the Popedom, who fearful of *Frederick*, first goes to *Genoua*, and thence to *France*, where he calls a Council at *Lyons*; to which *Frederick* determines to go, but was with-held by the Rebellion of *Parma*, from the Siege of which being repulsed, he goes into *Tuscany*, and thence to *Sicily*, where he dyes, leaving his Son *Conrade* in *Suevia*, and in *Puglia*, *Manfred* born of his Concubine, whom he had made Duke of *Beneventum*. *Conrade* comes to take possession of the Kingdom, and arriving at *Naples* dyes, leaving only *Conradine* an Infant, and then in *Germany*. Whereupon *Manfred* first as Protector of *Conradine*, gets that State into his hands, and afterwards giving out that *Conradine* was dead, makes himself King, both against the will of the Pope, and the *Neapolitans*, whom he forced to give their consent. Whilst the Kingdom labour'd under these calamities, many troubles were raised in *Lombardy* by the *Guelfe*, and the *Ghibelline* Factions. For the *Guelfe's* stood

Innocent the Fourth Pope.

Frederick Emperour and King of *Naples* dyes.

Manfred his base son gets the Kingdom.

stood up for the Popes Legate, and the *Ghibellines* for *Ezelmo*, who was possessed of almost all *Lombardy* beyond the *Po*. And because in the heat of the War *Padoua* had rebelled, he put to death twelve thousand *Paduans*, and before the War was ended dyed himself, at about thirty years of age, after whose death all the Towns by him possessed were free. *Manfred* King of *Naples* pursued the Enmity of his Ancestors against the Church, and held the Pope, who was now called *Urban* the Eighth, in continual trouble and torment, in so much that to tame him, he set on foot the *Croisado* against him, and went to *Perugia* to attend their coming in to him; but perceiving that people came in very slow and faintly, he concluded that to overcome *Manfred*, more certain helps would be requisite, he therefore seeks the favour of *France*, and to that end, *Charles* of *Anjou*, brother of *Lewis* King of *France*, he creates King of *Sicily* and *Naples*, and encourages him to come and take possession of that Kingdom. But before *Charles* could get to *Rome*, the Pope dyes, and in his stead *Clement* the Fourth was got into the Chair; in whose time *Charles* with thirty Gallies arrives at *Ostia*, having given order to his other people to come by Land. Whilst he stay'd in *Rome*, the *Romans* to gratifie him, made him Senator, and the Pope installed him in the Kingdom, on condition that he should yearly pay to the Church fifty thousand Florines, and

Pursues his
fathers
enmity a-
gainst the
Church.

The Pope
creates
Charles of
Anjou, King
of *Naples*.

He arrives
at *Ostia*.

and withall made a Decree that neither *Charles* nor any other holding that Kingdom should be capable of being Emperours. *Charles* marches against *Manfred*, defeats and kills him near *Beneventum*, and so becomes Lord of *Sicily* and *Naples*. But *Conradine* to whom by his fathers will that Scepter belonged, having gathered a great power in *Germany*, comes into *Italy* against *Charles*, with whom he fights at *Taliacozzo*, is defeated and flees, but in his slight being known, is taken prisoner and slain. *Italy* was now quiet till *Adrian* the Fifth succeeded to the Papacy, and *Charles* being now at *Rome*, and governing the City by virtue of his Senators office, the Pope not able to endure his greatness and power retires, and makes *Viterbo* his residence, from whence he solicits the Emperour *Rodolphus* to come into *Italy* against *Charles*. Thus the Popes often out of specious pretences of their care of Religion, but oftener out of their own natural Ambition, never ceased calling fresh forces into *Italy*, and stirring up of new wars; and no sooner had they made any Prince powerful, but they repented it, and sought his ruine, not permitting any to possess that Province, which by reason of their own weakness they could not enjoy. And Princes stood in aw of them, because fighting or flying they always overcame, if they were not by some wile or other oppressed; as were *Boniface* the Eighth, and some others, who under the colour of

Friendship

Adrian the
fifth Pope.

Nicolas the
third Pope ;

Friendship were by the Emperours made prisoners. *Rodolphus* could not come into *Italy*, being staid by the war he had in *Bohemia*. Whilest things stood thus, *Adrian* dyes, and *Nicolas* the Third, of the Family of *Orsini* is made Pope, who contrived all ways imaginable to lessen the power of *Charles*, and managed things so as to make the Emperour complain that *Charles* kept a Governour in *Tuscany*, and favoured the *Guelf* Faction, which since *Manfred's* death had been by him revived in that Province : *Charles* yielded to the Emperour, and withdrew his Governour, and the Pope sent one of his Cardinal Nephews Governour for the Empire : whereupon the Emperour in return of this Honour restored *Romania* to the Church, which had by his predecessors been taken from it, and the Pope made *Bertolds Orsini* Duke of *Romania* : and now judging himself potent enough to look *Charles* in the face, he first took away his Office of Senatour, and made a Decree that none of Royal Blood should hereafter be Senators of *Rome*. He had next a mind to snatch *Sicily* from *Charles*, and to that end held a private treaty with *Peter* King of *Arragon*, which afterwards in the time of his Successor took effect. He designed likewise to make two Kings of his own Family; one in *Lombardy*, and the other in *Tuscany*, whose power might be sufficient to defend the Church from the invasion of the *Germans*, and insulencies of the *French* already

Treats privately with
Arragon to
take *Sicily*
from *Charles*

ready in the Kingdom. But with these thoughts he dyed, and was the first of the Popes that gave such visible testimonies of his natural ambition, and who under colour of seeking the Churches advantage, sought only honours and riches for himself and his. And as in the times hitherto past, no mention is made of any Nephews or Kindred of the Popes, so for the future the History will be so full of them that we shall not fail to meet even with their own children; nor can the Popes now have any thing more to tempt them, but as they have designed all along to these times to make principalities hereditary, so now to contrive to make the Papacy so. Indeed true it is that principalities by them erected are seldom long lived, because the Popes generally living themselves but a very short time, though they plant never so well, yet their plants not having time enough to spread and fasten in the root, having but slender hold must needs upon the first gust of wind flag, and wanting that virtue which should uphold them, fall. To *Nicolas* succeeded *Martin* the Fourth, who being of the *French* nation favoured *Charles* his party, and in requital *Charles* sent his Forces into *Romania* that had rebelled, and being encamped at *Furli*, *Guido Bonasi* an Astrologer gave directions that at a signal given by him the people should fall on upon them, insomuch that all the *French* were taken or slain. In this time the practice set on foot

Popes Nephews
and Relations first publicly preferred and enriched.

Martin the
eighth Pope.

The French
massacred in
Sicily.
The Arago-
nians seize
the Island.

Rodolphus
sells the Ci-
ties of Italy
their free-
dom.

Boniface the
eighth Pope

foot by Pope *Nicolas* with *Peter* King of *Arragon* was brought to effect, for the *Sicilians* massacred all the *French* they found; and *Peter* made himself Lord of the Island, under pretence it belonged to him in right of his wife *Constance* the daughter of *Manfred*; but *Charles* providing for war in order to the recovery of it dyes, leaving behind him *Charles* the Second, who in that war was made prisoner in *Sicily*, and to regain his liberty, promised that he would again deliver himself up prisoner, if within three years time he did not prevail with the Pope to invest the Kings of *Arragon* with the Kingdom of *Sicily*. *Rodolphus* the Emperour though he could not come into *Italy*, yet to gain the Empire some reputation there, sends his Embassadour with full authority to make all those Cities free that would purchase it; whereupon many bought it, and with their liberty changed their manner of living. *Adolphus* of *Saxony* succeeded in the Empire, and in the Papacy *Piero del Murone* who was called Pope *Celestine*, who being a Hermit, and of a strict and holy life, after six months resigned, and *Boniface* the Eighth was elected. The Heavens that knew there would a time come that *Italy* should be freed from the *French* and *Germans*, and be left entire in the hands of *Italians*, so that the Pope if foreign obstacles were once wanting, could neither establish nor hold his power, raised up in *Rome* two mighty families, the *Colonesi*

The Pope
seeks to ruin
all the
Colonesi

Ionnesi and the *Orsini* that with their power and vicinity they might keep the Papacy at a bay; whereupon Pope *Boniface* who knew this well, endeavoured utterly to extirpate the family of the *Colonesi*, and besides having excommunicated them, bandied the Croisado against them, which, if it damaged them, damaged the Church much more; for those arms which by faith and charity would do wonders, being by self ambition turned against Christians, lose their edge and virtue: and thus the immoderate desire of satisfying their own appetite, made the Popes by degrees disarm themselves. He also deposed two of that family, which were Cardinals; and *Sciarra* the chief of the Family (in a disguise) flying, was taken by the *Catalonian* Corsairs, and put to the oar, but afterwards coming to be known in *Marsellis* was sent to *Philip* King of *France*, who stood excommunicated and deprived of his Kingdom by *Boniface*: and *Philip* considering that in open war against the Pope, Princes either came off losers, or run great hazards, had recourse to cunning, and dissembling to make an agreement with the Pope, he sends *Sciarra* privately into *Italy*, who arrived at *Anagnia* where the Pope then was, and getting his friends together by night, took him, and though soon after the people of *Anagnia* rescued and set him at liberty, yet nevertheless out of mere vexation to be so taken, he dyed mad. *Boniface* was the first that established

Dyes mad.

E

the

the Jubilee, anno 1300, and ordered the celebrating it every hundredth year. About these times happened great troubles between the *Guelf* and *Ghibelline* factions, and because *Italy* seemed forsaken by the Emperours, many Cities became free, and many were usurped by tyrants. Pope *Benedict* restored the Cardinal *Colonesse* the hat, and absolved *Philip* King of *France*; To him succeeded *Clement* the Fifth, who being a French man removed the Court into *France* 1306. During these things dyed *Charles* the Second, King of *Naples*, to whom succeeded *Robert* his son, and to the Empire was elected *Harry* of *Luxemburgh*, who came to *Rome* to be crowned, though the Pope was not there. Sad troubles arose in *Lombardy* by reason of his coming, for all those that were driven out, whether *Guelfs* or *Ghibellines*, being returned again into their own Cities, and striving again to drive each other out, they filled *Italy* with war and tumult, do whatever the Emperour could to prevent it. Parting from *Lombardy* by way of *Genoua*, he came to *Pisa*, where he begun to contrive how to rescue *Tuscany* from King *Robert*, but not able to do any thing, he goes forward to *Rome*, where he stayed but few days, for being driven out by the *Orsini*, encouraged by King *Robert's* favour, he returned to *Pisa*, and that he might more securely war against *Tuscany*, and withdraw it from under King *Robert's* yoke, he caused *Frederick* King

Clement the Fifth, Pope.

Harry of *Luxemburgh* Emperour.

King of *Sicily* to invade it, but whilst he was hoping to possess *Tuscany*, and take it away from *Robert*, he dyed. To whom succeeded in the Empire *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. And in the interim *John* the two and twentieth came to be Pope, during whose time the Emperour ceased not to persecute the *Guelfs*, and the Church, whose chief defenders were King *Robert* and the *Florentines*, whence arose mighty wars managed in *Lombardy* by the *Visconti* against the *Guelfs*, and in *Tuscany* by *Castruccio* of *Lucca* against the *Florentines*. But because the Family of the *Visconti* were those that laid the foundation of the Duchy of *Milan*, one of the five principalities that after governed *Italy*: I think it convenient to make a larger inquisition into their original. After the league in *Lombardy*, which we have before mentioned, made by several Cities to defend themselves from *Frederick Barbarossa*, *Milan*, restored from its ruins, to revenge the injuries it had received, joined it self in that league, which bridled *Barbarossa*, and for a time kept the Church patty in heart and life; and amidst the calamities of the war that ensued, the Family *de la Torre* became most potent in that City, and daily increased in reputation, while the Emperours authority was but feeble in that Province: but *Frederick* the Second coming into *Italy*, and the *Ghibelline* Faction growing potent by means of *Ezelino*, and that humour spreading in every City. Amongst those

Lewis of *Bavaria* Emperour.
John the two and twentieth Pope.

The *Visconti* first Dukes of *Milan*.

those who in *Milan* were leaders of that party was the Family of the *Visconti* who chased those *de la Torre* out of that City, yet ere they had been long expelled, by agreement made between the Emperour and Pope, they were restored to their Countrey. But the Pope being with his Court gone into *France*, and *Harry of Luxemburgh* coming into *Italy* to go fetch the Crown at *Rome*, was in *Milan* received by *Maffeo Visconti* and *Guido de la Torre*, the two heads of those Families; and *Maffeo* designing to make use of the Emperour to drive *Guido* out of *Milan*, which he judged easie to do, because he was of the contrary faction, took occasion from the grievances and complaints of the people at the tyrannous deportment of the *Germans*, and warily went about encouraging every one, and perswading them to take arms and free themselves from the slavery of those *Barbarians*: and when he thought he had disposed all things to his purpose, he caused by one of his confidents a tumult to be raised, whereupon all the people took arms against the *German* name; and no sooner was the alarm given, but *Maffeo* with his sons and all his confederates arming themselves, ran with speed to *Harry*, telling him how this tumult arose from the Family *de la Torre*, who not content to live privately in *Milan*, had taken that opportunity to sack it, to gratifie the *Guelfs* of *Italy*, and make themselves Princes of that City; but that he should be of good courage for

for

for they and their party if he were minded to defend himself, were ready to run all hazards to secure him; the Emperour believed all that *Maffeo* told him, and joining his forces to the *Visconti's*, set upon those *de la Torre* (who were dispersed up and down the City to appease the tumult,) and those they could light of they slew, and the rest, having dispoil'd them of their goods, banished; thus remained *Maffeo Visconti* as Prince in *Milan*, and after him *Galeazo* and *Azo*, and after them *Lucinus* and *John*, *John* became Arch-Bishop of that City, and *Lucinus* (who dyed before him) left Issue, *Barnaby* and *Galeazo*, but *Galeazo*, dying soon after, left behind him *John Galeazo*, called the Count of virtue; who after the death of the Arch-Bishop, treacherously slew his Uncle *Barnaby*, and remained the sole Prince of *Milan*, and was he who first bore the title of Duke; of his issue remained *Philip*, and *John Maria Angelo*, who being slain by the people of *Milan*, the State remained to *Philip*, who left no Issue-male, and so was this Government transferred from the Family of the *Visconti's* to that of the *Sforza's*, in the manner, and for the reasons which shall in due place be declared. But to return where we left off, *Lewis* the Emperour to give reputation to his party, and to take the Crown, comes into *Italy*, passing through *Milan*, and having occasion to levy some money among the *Milaneses*, makes a show of giving them liberty, and

Lewis the Emperour to draw money from the *Milaneses*, imprisons the *Visconti*.

Pisa and
Lucca rebel.

John King
of Bohemia
comes into
Italy.

puts the *Visconti* in prison, whom afterwards by means of *Castruccio* of *Lucca*, he released, and going to *Rome*, the better to disturb the peace of *Italy*, he makes *Peter Carnara* Anti-pope, by whose reputation and the *Visconti's* arms, he hoped to weaken the opposing parties of *Tuscany* and *Lombardy*; but *Castruccio* dyes, and his death was the principal cause of *Lewis* his ruine, for *Pisa* and *Lucca* rebelled against him, and the *Pisans* sent the Anti-pope prisoner to the Pope in *France*, and the Emperour despairing of the affairs of *Italy*, returns into *Germany*: No sooner was he gone, but *John* King of *Bohemia* comes into *Italy*, invited by the *Ghibellines* of *Brescia*, of which and *Bergamo* he makes himself master: and because his coming was by the Popes consent (though the contrary was pretended) the Legate of *Bologna* favoured him, judging it a good expedient against the Emperours return into *Italy*. By this accident the face of things in *Italy* were quite changed, for the *Florentines* and King *Robert* seeing the Legate favoured the attempts of the *Ghibellines*, became enemies to all those, to whom the Legate and King of *Bohemia* were friends: and without respect either to *Guelph* or *Ghibellina* drew in many Princes into league with themselves; amongst whom were the *Visconti*, those *de la Scala*, *Philip* *Gonzaga* of *Mantona*, those of *Carrara*, and those *D'Este*, whereupon the Pope excommunicated them all, and the King doubtful

of this League, went home to recruit his Army, and returning again with greater force, yet found the enterprise very difficult: whereupon terrified, to the great displeasure of the Legate, he returned into *Bohemia*, leaving only *Reggio* and *Modena* garrisoned, and recommending *Parma* to *Marsilio*, and *Peter de Rossi*, who were very potent in that City. He being gone, *Bologna* entred into the League, and the Confederates divided among themselves four Cities, which still remained on the party of Church, agreeing that *Parma* should be given to those *della Scala*, *Reggio* to *Gonzaga*, *Modena* to the *D'Este*, and *Lucca* to the *Florentines*. But in the Enterprise of taking these Towns many broyls ensued, which were most of them at length composed by the *Venetians*. It may possibly appear strange to some, that among so many accidents which happened in *Italy*, we have so long deferred to make any mention of the *Venetians*, they being a Common-wealth, both in point of Rule and Power, to be celebrated before any other Principality of *Italy*. But to take away any such cause of wonder; I will go back so far, that every one may understand, what were its beginnings, and why they deferred for so long a time, the concerning themselves in the affairs of *Italy*. *Attila* King of the *Huns* besieging *Aquilegia*, its inhabitants after having a long time defended themselves, despairing of their safety, carrying off their moveables in the

The rise of
Venice.

best manner they could, sheltered themselves upon a great cluster of uninhabited Rocks, at the point of the *Adriatick* Sea. The *Paduans* likewise seeing the fire brought almost to their own doors, and fearing after the taking of *Aquilegia*, *Attila* would fall likewise upon them, all their moveables of most value they carried likewise into the same Sea, to a place called the High-bank, whither they sent likewise their Wives, Children, and old Men, keeping only the young Men in *Padoua* to defend it. In like manner those of *Montefelice* urged by the same fear, came to seek shelter in those Rocks, But *Aquilegia* taken, and *Attila* having spoiled *Padoua*, *Montefelice*, *Vicenza*, and *Verona*, those of *Padoua*, and the most powerful of the others, continued to inhabit those Marshes that were about the High-bank. And in like manner all the people about that Province, which was anciently called *Venetia*, driven by the same accidents, sought a refuge in those Marshes, and so forced by necessity; they forsook pleasant and fruitful places, to go and inhabit in places wild and barren, and wanting all manner of necessary conveniencies. But having people enough in an instant gathered together, in a very short time they made those places, not only habitable but delightful; and constituting Laws and Orders among themselves, among all the Ruines, and Rapines which *Italy* groaned under, lived quiet and secure, and in a short time grew

grew to power and reputation; for besides the forementioned inhabitants, many of the Cities of *Lombardy* fleeing from the cruelty of *Clevis*, King of the *Lombards*, took sanctuary here, which added no small increase to this City. In so much, that in the time of *Pepin* King of *France*, when at the Popes intreaty he came to drive the *Lombards* out of *Italy*. In the Articles agreed on between him, and the Greek Emperour, the Duke of *Beneventum*, and the *Venetians* paid Homage to neither, but in the midst of both, enjoyed their own liberty. Moreover, as necessity had driven them to live among the Waters, so (no more relying now upon the Land) it forced them to bethink themselves how they might honestly live, and thereupon trading with their Ships to all parts of the World, they stocked their City with sundry sorts of Merchandize, which others wanting, begot a necessary and frequent concourse of people thither; Nor thought they for a good while of any other Dominion, but such as might be most commodious for their Trade, and therefore possessed themselves of many Ports in *Greece* and *Syria*; and upon the passages made by the *French* into *Asia* (because they made use of their shipping) the Island of *Candia* was consigned to them. And whilst they lived in this manner, their name grew terrible upon the Sea, and respected through all *Italy*, so that few controversies happened, in which they were not made Arbitrators.

The Venetians made arbitrators of all differences.
As

As particularly in this difference which arose among the Confederates on account of the Territories to be divided amongst them, who referring the matter to the *Venetians*, the *Visconti* had assigned them *Bergamo* and *Brescia*. But in process of time; having added to their Dominion, *Padua*, *Vicenza* and *Trevigi*, and afterwards *Verona*, *Bergamo* and *Brescia*, and in the Kingdom, and *Romania*, divers other Cities; hurried on with a desire of rule, they grew into such an estimation of their power, that they not only appeared terrible to the Princes of *Italy*, but even to remoter Kings: whereupon all conspiring against them, they had in one day taken from them all that Dominion, they had in so many years, with such infinite expence of blood and treasure been gaining. And though indeed in these latter times they have regained some part, yet having recovered neither that reputation, nor power, they live (as do all the other Princes of *Italy*) at the discretion of others. *Benedict* the Twelfth was now advanced to the papacy, and imagining he had utterly lost the possession of *Italy*, fearing lest *Lewis* should make himself Lord of it, he determined to make a League with all those which had usurped the Lands that formerly paid obedience to the Empire, and to the end he might make them stand in fear of the Emperour, and bind them the firmer to the defence of *Italy*, he made a Decree, that all the Tyrants of *Lombardy* should possess the Lands

Benedict the
Twelfth
Pope.

Lands they had usurped, by just Title: But the Pope dying, during this concession, *Clement* the Sixth confirmed it. And the Emperour seeing with what liberality the Pope had given away the Lands of the Empire, that he might not be less liberal then he, in disposing the goods of others, he gave to all the Tyrants, that had usurped upon the Territories of the Church, all their Lands, to hold them by Imperial Authority, by which means *Galeotte Maletesti*, and his brethren, became Lords of *Rimini*, *Pesaro* and *Fano*. *Antonio* of *Montefeltro* of *Marca* and *Urbine*; *Gentile* of *Varano*, of *Camerino*; *Guido* de *Polenta* of *Ravenna*; *Sinibaldo* *Ordelaffi* of *Furli* and *Cesena*. *John* *Manfredi* of *Faenza*. *Lodovico* *Aledosi* of *Imola*. And besides these many other Territories, so that of all the Lands belonging to the Church, few but had a new Prince; which, even till the time of *Alexander* the Sixth, kept the Church very weak, but he in our times with the ruine of their descendants restored its Authority. The Emperour when he made this Concession was at *Trent*, and gave it out, that he had a design to pass into *Italy*, which occasioned great Wars in *Lombardy*, by which the *Visconti* became Lords of *Panma*. About this time dyed *Robert* King of *Naples*, leaving behind him only two grand Daughters of his son *Charles's* (who was dead a little before him) and willed, that the eldest, which was called *Joan*, should inherit the Kingdom, taking

Robert King
of *Naples*
dyed.

taking for her Husband *Andrew*, son to the King of *Hungary*, his Nephew. *Andrew* lived not long with her, but she murdered him, and married another of her Cousins, *Lewis* Prince of *Taranto*. But *Lewis* King of *Hungary* to revenge his Brothers death, entred *Italy* with an Army, and drove *Joan* and her Husband from the Kingdom. About this time a very memorable thing happened at *Rome*. One *Nicholas di Lorenzo*, Chancellor in the Capitol, drove the Senators out of *Rome*, and made himself, under the title of Tribune, head of the Roman Common-wealth, and reduced it to the primitive form of Government, with so much reputation of Justice and Virtue, that not only the adjacent Territories, but all *Italy* sent Ambassadors to him: In so much that the ancient Provinces seeing *Rome* as it were born again, raised up their heads, and some moved by fear, others by hope gave honour to it: But *Nicholas* himself notwithstanding so much reputation, of his own accord in its very beginnings forsook it, for not having a soul large enough to bear such a weight, without being opposed by any body, he secretly fled, and went to *Charles* King of *Bohemia*, who by order of the Pope (in scorn and contempt of *Lewis* of *Bavaria* had been elected Emperour) and he to gratifie the Pope, sent him *Nicholas* prisoner. It followed not long after in imitation of this, that one *Francisco Barocagli* took upon him the Tribuneship, and drove out

A memorable
accident
at *Rome*.

out the Senators, so that the Pope as a quick remedy to suppress him, takes *Nicholas* out of prison, and sending him to *Rome*, restores him to the office of Tribune, who having thus regained the command of the State, puts *Francis* to death. But the *Colonnese* becoming his enemies, he was himself soon after slain, and the Senators restored. Mean time the King of *Hungary* having expelled *Queen Joan*, returned into his own Kingdom; but the Pope who had much rather have the Queen his Neighbour, than that King, wrought so, that he was content to restore her Kingdom, provided *Lewis* her Husband would be content with the Title of *Taranto*, and not be called King. Now came in the year 1350, and the Pope thinking good that the Jubilee ordained by Pope *Boniface* the Eighth for every hundred years, should be reduced to fifty, decreed it accordingly, for which kindness and benefit, the Romans were content that he should send four Cardinals to reform the Government of that City, and make Senators according to his pleasure. The Pope likewise pronounced *Lewis* of *Taranto*, King of *Naples*, for which favour *Queen Joan* gave *Avignon*, that was part of her inheritance to the Church. About this time dyed, *Lucino Visconti*, whereby *John* Archbishop of *Milan* remained sole Lord, who waged great Wars with the *Tuscans* and his Neighbours, whereby he still grew more powerful.

Queen Joan
restored to
her King-
dom.

The Jubilee
decreed e-
very fifty
year.

Avignon
given to the
Church.

State of *Mi-
lan*.

After

After him remained of that stock his Nephew's *Barnaby* and *Galeazzo*. But shortly after *Galeazzo* dyed, leaving *John Galeazzo* his son, who divided that State with *Barnaby*. In these times *Charles* King of *Bombenia* was Emperour, and *Innocent* the Sixth Pope, who sent into *Italy* Cardinal *Egidius* a Spaniard born, who by his valour and conduct, not only in *Romagna* and *Rome*, but also throughout all *Italy* restored the reputation of the Church. He recovered *Bologna*, which the Archbishop of *Milan* had taken: forced the *Romans* to accept one forreign Senator, which the Pope was every year to send them; made an honourable peace with the *Visconti*; routed and took prisoner *Sr. John Hawkwood*, an Englishman, who with four thousand English made war in *Tuscany*, in behalf of the *Ghibellines*. Whereupon *Urban* the Fifth succeeding to the Papacy, and hearing of so many Victories, he determined to visit *Italy* and *Rome*, whither likewise came the Emperour *Charles*, and after some few months stay, *Charles* returned to his Kingdom, and the Pope to *Avignon*. After *Urban's* death was created *Gregory* the Twelfth, and because Cardinal *Egidius* was dead, *Italy* turned into its wonted disorders, by reason of the confederacy of divers Towns against the *Visconti*: In so much, that the Pope sent first a Legat into *Italy* with six thousand *Britans*, and after coming himself in person, brought again the Court to

Innocent the Sixth Pope.

Cardinal *Egidius* restores the Churches reputation.

Urban the Fifth Pope.

Gregory the Twelfth Pope.

to *Rome* in the year 1376 after seventy one years being in *France*. But he being dead, *Urban* the Sixth was created, and soon after at *Fondi* by ten Cardinals, who alledged *Urban* not to have been duly chosen; was *Clement* the Seventh created. In these times the *Genoueses*, who for many years had lived under the Government of the *Visconti*, rebelled, and between them and the *Venetians* succeeded a most important war about the Island *Tenedos*, by which all *Italy* was divided. In this war were Artillery first made use off, lately found out by the *Germanians*; and though the *Genouese* had once the better of it, yet the *Venetians* came off Victors at last, and by the Popes intermission made peace. In the year 1381 arose a Schism in the Church, as we have said before, wherein *Joan* Queen of *Naples* sided with the schismatical Pope, whereupon *Urban* caused *Charles* of *Durazzo* descended of the blood Royal of *Naples*, to make an attempt upon her Crown, who coming took away her Kingdom, and possessing himself of it, forced her to flee to *France*. The King of *France* angry hereat, sends *Lewis* of *Anjou* into *Italy* to recover that Kingdom for the Queen, drive the Pope out of *Rome*, and seat the Anti-pope in the Chair: but *Lewis* in the heat of this enterprize dyes, and his people defeated and broken, returned into *France*. In the mean time the Pope went to *Naples*, where he imprisoned nine Cardinals for having adhered to *France* and the Anti-pope

Two Popes

War between *Genoues* and *Venice*.

Joan Queen of *Naples* expelled by *Charles* of *Durazzo*.

Lewis of *Anjou* invading *Italy*

Dyes.

pope: afterwards he grew angry with the King, because he would not make one of his Nephews Prince of *Capua*, and dissembling an indifferency for it, he requested *Nocera* for his dwelling, where afterwards he fortified himself, and prepared to deprive the King of his Kingdom, whereupon the King took the Field, and the Pope fled to *Genova*, where he put to death those Cardinals he had made prisoners. Hence he went to *Rome*, and to gain himself reputation, created eight and twenty Cardinals. About this time *Charles* King of *Naples* went to *Hungary* where he was made King, and soon after dyed, having left his wife with *Ladislaws* and *Joan* her children at *Naples*. About this time likewise *John Galeazzo Visconti* having slain *Barnaby* his Uncle, and seized the State of *Milan*, not satisfied to have thus made himself Duke of all *Lombardy*, he aimed likewise at *Tuscany*, but when he just thought to have snatch'd the Dominion of it, and afterwards have made himself be crowned King of *Italy* he dyes. To *Urban* the Sixth succeeded *Boniface* the Ninth, and *Clement* the Anti-pope dying at *Avignon*, *Benedict* the Thirteenth was set up. There were in these times great multitudes of Soldiers in *Italy*, *English*, *Germans* and *Britains*, brought thither partly by those Princes, who at sundry times had come into *Italy*, and partly sent by the Popes when they resided at *Avignon*. With these for a long time

Charles King
of Naples
dyes.

The Schism
in the
Church con-
tinues.

time the *Italian* Princes used to bandy one another, till at length started up *Lewis* of *Conio*, a native of *Romagnia*, who formed a company of Soldiers, and calling them *S. Georges* band, did in a short time by their Valour and Discipline take away the reputation of the strangers, and planted it among his *Italians*, of whom afterwards the Princes of *Italy* made use when they warred together. The Pope having some dissention with the *Romans* left the City, and went to reside at *Scefi*, where he staid till the approaching Jubilee of 1400, at which time the *Romans* (that the Pope for their advantage might return to the City) were content to accept a new foreign Senator of his choice and sending, and that he should fortifie himself in the Castle of *S. Angelo*, upon these conditions being returned to *Rome*, to enrich the Church, he decrees that every one entering into a vacant Benefice, should pay a years revenue to the Chamber. After the death of *John Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan* though he left two sons, *John Maria Angelo* and *Philip*, that estate was divided into sundry parts, and in the troubles that ensued *John* was slain, and *Philip* for some time shut up in the Rock *Pavia*, whence by the fidelity and valour of the Governour he escaped. Amongst others that seized on the Cities possessed by their father was *William de la Scala*, who being a banished man had saved himself under the protection of *Francis* of *Carrara*.

S. Georges
Band.

Jubilee of
1400.

Popes re-
turn to
Rome.

The State of
Milan divi-
ded.

Lord of *Padua*, by whose help he gained the Territory of *Verona*, which he enjoyed but a short time, for by the orders of *Francis* he was poisoned, and the City surprised, whereupon the *Vicentines* who under the banners of the *Visconti* had lived secure, fearing now the growing power of the Lords of *Padua*, yielded themselves up to the *Venetians*, in whose quarrel the *Venetians* waged war against him, and first took from him *Verona* and then *Padua*. Mean time dyed Pope *Boniface*, and *Innocent* the seventh was elected, whom the people of *Rome* besought to render up the Fortresses, and restore their liberty, to which the Pope not consenting, they called unto their aid *Ladislaus* King of *Naples*. Afterwards coming to an agreement the Pope returned to *Rome*, whence for fear of the people he had fled to *Viterbo*, where he made his Nephew *Lewis*, Earl of the *Marca*, dying afterwards, *Gregory* the Twelfth was elected, with condition to resign the Papacy, whenever the Antipope should renounce it; and for encouragement of the Cardinals, to make trial if the Church could be reunited. *Benedict* the Anti-pope came to port *Veneri*, and *Gregory* to *Lucca*, where many things were debated, but nothing concluded, so that the Cardinals of both parties forsook them, and as for the Popes, *Bennet* went into *Spain*, and *Gregory* to *Rimini*. Whilst the Cardinals with the favour of *Baldassare Cossa* Cardinal and Le-

Innocent
the Seventh,
Pope.

Gregory the
Twelfth
Pope.

gate

gate of *Bologna*, call a Council at *Pisa*, where they create *Alexander* the Fifth Pope, who presently excommunicates *Ladislaus*, and invests *Lewis* of *Anjou* with that Kingdom, and together with the *Venetians*, *Genoueses* and *Florentines*, and *Baldassare Cossa* the Legat, make war upon *Ladislaus*, and take from him *Rome*; but in the heat of this war *Alexander* dyes, and *Baldassare Cossa* was created Pope, who took the name of *John* the three and twentieth: He leaving *Bologna* where he was created, comes to *Rome*, and there finds *Lewis* of *Anjou* come with an army out of *Province*, and giving battle to *Ladislaus*, overthrew him, but not able to pursue the victory for want of guides, the King in a short time rallies, recruits, and retakes *Rome*, and the Pope fled to *Bologna*, and *Lewis* into *Province*: And the Pope consulting how to lessen the power of *Ladislaus*, brought it so about that *Sigismund* King of *Hungary* was elected Emperour, whom he encouraged to come into *Italy*, and had parly with him at *Mantona*, where they agreed upon summoning a general Council to reunite the Church, that it might be the better able to withstand the power of its enemies. There were at this time three Popes, *Gregory*, *Bennet* and *John*, which made the Church feeble, and of no reputation. *Constance* a City of *Germany* was made choice of for assembling the Council, contrary to the intentions of Pope *John*; and though by the death of *Ladi-*

Alexander
the Fifth
Pope.

John the
three and
twentieth
Pope.

Sigismund
King of
Hungary
Emperour.

Three
Popes.

Council of
Constance.

F 2

slaus

flaw the occasion that made the Pope move for a Council were taken away, yet now having obliged himself he could not refuse to go, but having been some few months at *Constance*, and too late perceiving his error, he attempted to escape, for which he was cast into prison, and forced to resign the Papacy, *Gregory* one of the Anti-popes likewise by publick instrument renounced it, and *Bennet* the other Anti-pope refusing to do so was condemned for a Heretick. At last forsaken by his Cardinals, he was likewise constrained to renounce; and the Council created *Odo* of the house of the *Colonna* Pope, who was afterwards called *Martin* the Fifth; and thus the Church became united, after having for forty years been divided among several Popes. *Philip Visconti* was (as we said before) during these troubles in the *Rock* of *Pavia*: but *Fantino Cane* dying, who, during the divisions of *Lombardy* had made himself Lord of *Verselli*, *Alexandria*, *Novarra* and *Tortona*, and gathered together mighty riches, having no children he left his wife *Beatrice* his Heir, and willed his friends to procure, that she might marry *Philip*, by which match *Philip* grown powerful, regains *Milan*, and all the state of *Lombardy*: and afterwards as a token of his gratitude for such great benefits (a trick usual with all Princes) he accuses his wife of Adultery, and puts her to death: however grown very potent, he begun to bethink himself of making

Martin the Fifth created Pope by the Council.

Philip Visconti regains the State of *Milan*.

making war with *Tuscany*, and prosecuting the designs of his Father *John Galeazzo*. *Ladislaus*, King of *Naples*, had at his death left *Joan* his Sister, besides his Kingdom, a mighty Army under the command of the expertest Leaders of those times, among the principal of which was *Sforza* of *Contignuola*, reputed in feats of Arms very valiant. The Queen to avoid the slander of having too much kindness to one *Pandolfello* a young man she had brought up, took to Husband *Jacob della Marcia* a Frenchman, of the Royal Line, upon condition that he should content himself to be called Prince of *Tarantum*, and leave to her both the Title and Government of the Kingdom; but the Soldiers as soon as he came to *Naples*, called him King, whereupon grew great variance, and at last war between Husband and Wife, and oft-times overcame they one another: but at the last the Queen remaining settled in her Estate, became an enemy to the Pope; whereupon *Sforza* to reduce her to necessity, and that she might throw her self into the bosom of the Church, when she least, imagined it deserts her service; whereupon seeing her self on a sudden disarmed, and knowing no other remedy, she has recourse for succour to *Alphonso*, King of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, and adopting him her son, entertains for her General *Braccio de Montone*, a man of no less reputation in Arms than *Sforza*, and a sure enemy of the Pope, having usurped *Perugia*, and some other Territories

tories of the Churches. Peace afterwards ensued between her and the Pope, but King *Alphonso* fearing lest she should treat him as she had done her Husband, began to make himself Master of the strong-holds. But she being cunning, prevented him, and fortified her self in the Rock of *Naples*: Thus suspicions arising between them, brought them at length to open Arms, and the Queen with *Sforza's* assistance, who was returned into her service overcomes *Alphonso*, and drives him from *Naples*, and withal cancelling his adoption, adopts *Lewis* of *Anjou*, whence sprung up a new war between *Braccio*, who had embraced *Alphonso's* quarrel, and *Sforza* who favoured the Queen. In the pursuit of this war *Sforza* passing the River *Pescara* was drowned, so that the Queen was once more left defenceless, and had been driven out of the Kingdom, had not she been assisted by *Phillip Visconti*, Duke of *Milan*, who forced *Alphonso* to return to *Arragon*. But *Braccio* nothing daunted at *Alphonso's* forsaking him, continues the war against the Queen, and having besieged *Aquila*, the Pope not judging *Braccio's* greatness at all convenient for the Church, takes into his pay *Francis* the son of *Sforza*, who marches towards *Braccio* at *Aquila*, routs and kills him. *Braccio* left behind him his son *Odo*, from whom the Pope took *Perugia*, and left him the State of *Montone*. But not long after he was slain fighting in *Romania* for the *Florentines*,
so

so that of all remained of *Braccio's* Commanders *Nicholas Piccinino* had the most reputation. But because we are now coming to relate things neighbouring upon the times I designed to treat of, and that what remains imports to nothing more than the war maintained by the *Florentines* and *Venetians* against *Phillip* Duke of *Milan*, which shall be related when we come to treat, particularly of the *Florentine* affairs. I shall here proceed no farther, only briefly sum up in what condition *Italy* with its Princes and Armies stood, in those times we are now writing of. As for the prime Estates, Queen *Joan* the Second held the Kingdom of *Naples*; *La Marca* the Patrimony, and *Romania*, partly paid obedience to the Church, and in part were by its Vicars or Tyrants usurped, as *Ferrara*, *Modena*, and *Reggio*, by the *Esti*. *Faenza* by the *Manfredi*, *Imola* by the *Alidossi*, and *Furli* by the *Ordelaffi*, *Rimini* and *Pesaro*, by the *Malatesti*, and *Camerino* by those of *Varano*. In *Lombardy*, part was subject to Duke *Phillip*, and part to the *Venetians*, for all those who held particular Territories in it were extinct, except the house of *Gonzaga*, who were Lords of *Mantoua*. The *Florentines* were Lords of the most part of *Tuscany*, only *Lucca* and *Siena* lived under their own Laws. *Lucca* under the *Guinigi*, *Siena* free. The *Genovese* sometimes free, sometimes subject to the French Kings, or to the *Visconti*, lived unregarded, and accounted among

The State of
Italy in these
times.

the lesser Potentates : All these principal Potentates fought not with, nor employed any Armies of their own. Duke Phillip, shut up in his Chamber, & without suffering himself to be seen by his own Ministers managed his Wars. The *Venetians* addicting themselves to acquisitions on the Land, stilled that reputation had made them so glorious upon the Sea, & following the Custom of other *Italians*, made war under the conduct of others. The Pope not becoming Armour, as being head of Religion, and Queen *Joan* being a woman, followed out of necessity what others did by election. The *Florentines* likewise submitted to the same necessity, for having by their frequent divisions exhausted their Nobility; and that Common-wealth being fallen into the hands of men bred up in Merchandize, they followed the Orders and Fortunes of others, so that the Arms of *Italy* were either in the hands of the lesser Princes, or of men of no Estate: for the lesser Princes not moved by Glory, but that they might live more richly and securely, undertook Commands. And the others having been trained up in Arms from their Youth, not knowing any other Trade sought by this way to advance themselves, either to Riches, Honour or Power. Amongst the most famous of these were *Carmignuola*, *Francis Sforza*, *Nicholas Piccinino* brought up under *Braccio*, *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, *Laurence* and *Micheletto Attenduli*, *Tartaglia*, *Giaccopaccio*,

cio, *Ceccolino* of *Perugia*, *Nicholas* of *Tolentino*, *Guido Torello*, *Antonia* of *Ponte* and *Hera*, and many other; with these were those Lords of whom I have above spoken, to whom were joyned the Barons of *Rome*, *Orsini* and *Colonnese*, with other Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom, and of *Lombardy*, who making war, their subsistence had contracted a kind of League and intelligence together, and reduced it to a perfect Trade, with which temporising as they pleased; it happened most an end, that whoever made war, both parties came off losers. And in fine, they reduced it to such a degree of baseness, that any ordinary Captain that had but a dram of the Ancient Honour revived in him, would to the wonder of all *Italy* (who had so little Wit as to honour them) load them with scorn and reproaches: of these sloathful Princes, and these vile Arms must my History be full. Before I descend to which, it will be necessary (as in the beginning I promised) to return to make a relation of the Original of *Florence*, that every one may plainly perceive and see the posture in which that City in those times stood, and by what means, (amidst so many troubles, which for a thousand years together beset in *Italy*) it came into that Estate and Condition.

THE Florentine History

Written by
NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

BOOK II.



Amongst many other great and
advantagious Orders and
Rules of ancient Common-
wealths and Principalities,
which are in these our times
utterly extinct, was that, by
virtue of which, from time to time, many Ci-
ties and Towns were new founded or rebuilt:
for nothing can be more becoming, the
most excellent of Princes, or the best or-
dered of Commonwealths, nor more bene-
ficial to any Province, than the building
of Towns, where men may assemble and
live together, either for conveniency of de-
fence, or for encouragement of Trade and
Husbandry: Which those people of old
might the more easily do, because it was
their custom to send into Countries, whe-
ther conquered or waste, new Inhabitants,

A a

which

which they called *Colonies* : For besides that by this course and order new Towns were built, it also the better secured their Conquests, peopled the waste places, and by well distributing inhabitants throughout the Provinces maintained them with greater facility, whence it followed that as men lived in more commodiousness, many Provinces the more and more they multiplied, and were still readier to offend, and abler to defend : Which Custom being at this day by the great fault and error of Princes and Common-wealths quite left off, the weakness, and sometimes ruine of Provinces ensues ; for this Order alone is that, which makes Empires secure, and Countries, as I have said maintain plentifully their Inhabitants : for that Colony placed by any Prince in a Country, newly possessed by him, is like a Watch-tower, and guard to keep the rest in obedience. Nor without this Order can any Province that is full inhabited subsist, nor preserve its Inhabitants in any orderly distribution, for all places are not alike healthful or apt for Generation, whence must succeed, that in one place Inhabitants will abound, and in another be deficient, and if there cannot be a way found to withdraw them from places, where they are too numerous, and plant them where they want, that Province will in a short time grow ruinous, for one part of it by reason of the scarcity of Inhabitants will be desert, and the other by having too many, must
needs

needs grow poor. And because Nature cannot supply this defect, 'tis necessary that industry be added ; for unhealthful Countries have often been made wholesome, by a multitude of men flocking at one instant to inhabit them, for they by culture cleanse the earth, and by their fires purge the air, remedies which Nature cannot provide. A demonstration of which we have in the City of *Venice*, which seated in a Marish, and unhealthful place, by the great concourse of Inhabitants thither in an instant, became sound and healthful ; *Pisa*, likewise by reason of the malignity of the Air was never well replenished of Inhabitants, till *Genova* and its Sea-coasts were infested by the *Saracens*, which occasioned that those men driven from their Native Countries, fled thither in such shoals, as made that City at once populous and powerful : wherefore this order of sending Colonies failing, conquered Countries, are with more difficulty kept in obedience, waste Lands never planted, nor those that abound eased. Whereby many parts of the World (and especially *Italy*) are become in respect of ancient times, desert, all which has happened and does happen, because Princes have no true desire of Glory, nor Commonwealths, any Order that may deserve praise. But in old times, by reason of these Colonies, new Cities were oftentimes founded, or those already founded grew great. Among which was the City of *Florence*, which had its be-
ginning

The Original of Florence.

ginning from *Fiesole*, and its increase from Colonies. Most true it is, (as *Dante* and *John Villani* demonstrates) that the Citizens of *Fiesole* (seeing their Town seated on the very summit or top of the Mountain) to the end their Markets might be the better frequented, and those who came thither with their Merchandize, be encouraged by conveniencie, had appointed their Market-place not upon the Hill, but on the Plain, between the foot of the Mountain and the River *Arno*: These Markets were, as I judge, the first occasion of raising any buildings there, the Merchants desirous, as I suppose, to have Ware-houses and shelter for their Commodities, first erecting them, and Time and Trade perfecting them, so that at length they became substantial buildings. And afterwards when the Romans had overcome the *Carthaginians*, and thereby put *Italy* into a security of not being disturbed by foreign Forces, they were extremely multiplied. For men never put themselves to any streights or difficulties, unless when necessity constrains them to it, so that whereas the fear of war forced these willingly to live in strong and mountainous places, that fear once past, convenience and advantage draw's them more willingly down to inhabit places, more Domestick and easie. That security therefore which by the reputation of the *Roman* name was spread throughout *Italy*, might easily give an in-

crease

crease to those habitations already begun, so as to reduce them into the form of a Town, which in the beginning of it was called *Arnina*: There arose afterwards civil wars in *Rome*, first between *Marius* and *Sylla*, then betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and soon after between *Cæsars* murderers, and those that sought to revenge his death: From *Sylla* therefore in the first place, and afterwards from those three Roman Citizens, who after revenging *Cæsar* divided the Empire amongst them, were Colonies sent to *Fiesole*, all or the most part of which erected their habitations in the plain adjoining to the town already begun, which with this augmentation appeared now to be so full of Buildings, men and all other civil order, that it might well be reckoned among the Cities of *Italy*. But from whence it derived the name of *Florence*, there are various opinions, some will have it so called from *Florinus* one of the chiefest or Leaders of the Colonies, others will not have it at first called *Florentia*, but *Fluentia*, because seated upon the flood *Arno*, and summoning *Pliny* for a witness, who says the *Flu-entini* are near to the Flood *Arno*, which may be false, because *Pliny's* design was to shew where the *Florentines* were seated, not how they were called, and that word *Flu-entini* is very probably corrupted, because *Frontinus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* who wrote almost in the times of *Pliny* call it *Florentia*, and the people *Florentini*, for even then in the

Sylla and the Triumvirate sent Colonies to *Florence*.

Various opinions about the name of *Florence*.

the times of *Tiberius* it was governed according to the customs of the other Cities of *Italy*, and *Tacitus* relates there came *Florentine* Embassadors to the Emperour to beseech him, that the waters of the pools might not be opened upon their Countrey, nor is it reasonable to think a City in the same time should have two names, I therefore firmly believe it was always called *Florence*, by what ever occasion it came to be named so. And so likewise by what ever occasion it took its original, it had certainly its birth under the *Roman* Empire, and in the times of the first Emperours began by Historians to be recorded; and when that Empire was afflicted by Barbarians, *Florence* likewise was by *Totila* King of the *Ostrogoths* destroyed, and after two hundred and fifty years rebuilt by *Charlemain*, from which time until the year of *Christ*, 1215, it ran the same fortune with those who had the command of *Italy*, the first of which were the descendants of *Charlemain*, then the *Berengarii*, and lastly the Emperours of *Germany*, as in our general discourse we have set forth; nor could the *Florentines* in those times grow great, or act any thing worthy of memory, by reason of the potency of those to whose Empire they submitted. Notwithstanding in the year 1010 on *S. Romulus* day, a great Holy-day among the *Fiesolani*, they took and razed *Fiesole*, which either they did by consent of the Emperour, or because in the time from the

Destroyed
by *Totila*,
and rebuilt
by *Charle-*
main;

the death of the one, to the election of the other more freedom might be used: but after that the Popes assumed more authority in *Italy*, and the power of the *German* Emperour decayed, all the Cities of that Province behaved and governed themselves with less reverence to their Prince, inso-much that in the year 1080, and in the time of *Harry* the Third; *Italy* was reduced between him and the Church into a manifest division, notwithstanding all which, the *Florentines* until the year 1225 kept themselves united, obeying the Conquerour, and seeking no farther Empire than their own security. But as in our bodies the later infirmities happen, the more dangerous and mortal they are; so *Florence*, by so much the later it came to be infected with the Factions of *Italy*, by so much the more violently was it afflicted with them: The occasion of the first division is very notable and much celebrated by *Dante* and other writers. I will therefore be very brief in the relation of it. There were in *Florence* among other potent families, the *Buondelmonti's* and *Uberti's*, and nigh unto them lived the *Amadei* and *Donati*. There was in the family of the *Donati* a widow very rich, and who had a daughter of an excelling beauty, and most charming aspect, whom in her private thoughts, she had designed to marry to Signior *Buondelmonte*, a young Gentleman, and head of that Family; this design of hers, whether

The first Division in
Florence.

B b

through

through negligence, or out of a belief it was yet time enough, she had never discovered to any, till it happened that a marriage was treated and agreed on between *Messer Buon- delmonte*, and a daughter of one of the *Amadei*, at which this Lady was mightily disturbed, yet hoping that her daughters beauty might ere the marriage were solemnized prevent it, seeing *Messer Buon- delmonte* coming alone towards her house, she gets down to the door, her daughter following her, and as he passed by stopping him, I am glad indeed (said she) that you are now marrying, though I had reserved this daughter of mine purposely for you; and therewithal pushing open the door let him see her, the Gentleman startled at the beauty of the young Lady, which was indeed extraordinary; and considering neither her blood nor fortune, was inferior to hers to whom he was contracted, kindled immediately in his heart such a fierce desire of enjoying her, that forgetful of his word and plighted faith, nor thinking of the injury he did in breaking it, nor dreading the sad consequences might attend on violated promises, makes answer, since you, says he, have reserved her for me, I should be most ingrateful (whilest it is yet time enough) if I should refuse her; and so without any farther delay he married her. As soon as this business was known, the family of the *Amadei* were filled with rage and indignation, and those of the *Uberti* being

link'd

link'd to them in Affinity, joyned now likewise with them, and assembling together great numbers of the Kindred, they concluded such an injury, was not to be born without shame and reproach, nor to be revenged with less then the death of *Messer Buon- delmonte*. And though some of them did discourse and argue the mischief might ensue, *Moscha Lambertti* told them that he that deliberated many things never concluded any; adding withal that known proverb, *a thing once done has got a head*. Whereupon they gave the conduct and charge of this Murder to *Moscha Lambertti*, *Stratti Uberti*, *Lambertuccio Amadei*, and *Oderigo Fisanzi*. These on Easter day in the Morning at the hour of the resurrection, concealed themselves in one of the Palaces of *Amadei*, situate between the Old Bridge and Church of *St. Stephen*, and whilst Signior *Buon- delmonte* passed the River upon a white Horse, carelessly and like a man that believed such injuries, as slighting Marriage-vows, were easily to be forgotten; he was by them assaulted at the foot of the Bridge under a Statue of *Mars* and slain. This assassinate divided the whole City, and one part joyned with the *Buon- delmonti*, and the other with the *Uberti*. And because those Families were very powerful in Houses, Castles and men, they skirmished many years together without being able to expel one the other, and their enmities and hatred, though never pacified, were some-

Signior *Buon- delmonte* slain.

The City divided upon it.

times appeased by truce, and by this means (according to new accidents) sometimes they were quiet, and at other times enraged. Vext with these troubles was Florence, till the time of Frederick the Second, who because he was likewise King of Naples, persuaded himself that he might augment his power over the Church: and to establish his Authority the better in Tuscany, he favoured the *Uberti* and their followers, who strengthened by his countenance drove out the *Buondelmonti*. And thus our City (as all Italy had for sometime before been) was divided into *Guelfes* and *Ghibellines*. Nor do I think it impertinent to set down the Families, that were followers of one and the other Faction: Those who adhered to the *Guelfes* were. The *Buondelmonti*, *Nerli*, *Rossi*, *Frescobaldi*, *Gherardini*, *Foraboschi*, *Bagdeshi*, *Gindalotti*, *Sachetti*, *Manieri*, *Lucardesi*, *Cibramonti*, *Campiobbesi*, *Cavalcanti*, *Giandonati*, *Giansfigliuzzi*, *Scali*, *Guallerotti*, *Importuni*, *Bostichi*, *Tornaquinci*, *Vecchiotti*, *Tosinchi*, *Ariguicci*, *Agli*, *Sitii*, *Adimari*, *Bisdormini*, *Donati*, *Pazzi*, *Della Bella*, *Ardinghi*, *Theobaldi* and *Cerchi*. Those who sided with the *Ghibellines*, were the *Uberti*, *Manelli*, *Ubriachi*, *Fifanti*, *Amadei*, *Infanganti*, *Malespini*, *Scholari*, *Gindi*, *Galli*, *Caprardi*, *Lamberti*, *Soldameri*, *Cipriani*, *Toschi*, *Anucci*, *Palmerini*, *Migliorelli*, *Pigli*, *Barrucci*, *Cattani*, *Agolanti*, *Brunelleschi*, *Caponfacci*, *Elasei*, *Abbati*, *Tedaldi*, *Guiachi* and *Galigari*. And moreover, both to one side and the other

Which produces the faction of *Guelfes* and *Ghibellines*.

How the several Families sided.

other of these Noble Families, many Families of the Commons joyned themselves, so that this pestilent division infected the whole City. The *Guelfes* thus driven out, ^{The *Guelfes* expelled retreat into the Vale of *Arno*.} retreated into the Vale of *Arno* above the City, where they had many strong Fortresses, which in the best manner they could they defended against the power and force of their Enemies. But *Frederick* dying, those who were the calm and indifferent men in the City, and who had most credit with the people, bethought themselves that it would be much better to reunite this City, than by fomenting their divisions ruine it, and so effectually brought matters about that, the *Guelfes* (waving all injuries) returned, and the *Ghibellines* (laying aside all suspicions) received them. And thus united, ^{The City reunited.} they began to think it high time to settle a form of liberty, and put themselves into a posture of defence before the next Emperour gained any power: Whereupon they divided the City into six Parts, and chose for their Government twelve Citizens, two for every sixth part, which they called *Antiani*, or Aldermen, and changed every year. And to remove all occasions of cavil in giving judgement, they elected two foreign Judges, one of whom they stiled the Captain of the people, and the other the *Podestà* or Mayor, who were to determine all causes happening among the Citizens, as well civil as criminal. And because no Rule nor Government can be safe or settled

And form Orders for making themselves a Free State.

Their Military Orders.

till a defence be provided for it, they established twenty Colours for the City, and threescore and sixteen for the Country, under which they listed all the Youth, giving strict orders that every one should repair ready armed to his Colours upon any summons from his Captain, or the Aldermen. And they varied their Colours according to their Arms, for one sort of Ensign had the Cross-bows, and the Targets another, and every year at *Whitsontide* they gave the Ensigns to new men and chose, and gave Command to new Heads or Chieftains of the whole *Militia*. And to give more majesty to their Army, and knowledge to every one, whither, if repulsed in battle, they might repair for refuge, and being rallied, again make head against the Enemy, they had a large Chariot drawn with two Oxen, covered with red, on the top of which was a white and red Banner planted. And to give yet farther Magnificence and glory to their Arms, they had a Bell called *Martinaella*, which continually sounded a month before they drew out their Forces, to give warning to the Enemies to prepare themselves for their defence. So much gallantry had men in those days, that whereas now the assaulting an enemy by surprise, is accounted a prudent and generous act, they thought nothing more vile and reproachful. This bell they likewise carried with the Army, by which they set their Watches, and gave Signals to their Sentinels. Upon these

Their Standard.

Their bravery.

these Civil and Military Constitutions did the *Florentine's* found their liberty, nor can it be imagined to what authority and power *Florence* in a short time attained, not only becoming Head of *Tuscany*, but accounted among the chief Cities of *Italy*, and had possibly risen to a vaster height, had not fresh and frequent divisions still afflicted it. Under this Government lived the *Florentines* ten years, in which time they forced the *Pistolessi*, *Aretini* and *Sanesi*, to make peace with them, and raising their Camp from before *Siena* took *Volterra*, dismantled several Cities, and carried away the Inhabitants to *Florence*. All which enterprizes were made by counsel of the *Guelphes*, who were able to do much more then the *Ghibellines*, as well because these last were hated by the people for their proud carriage, when in *Frederick's* time they governed, as because the others sided with the Church, which was (more then the Emperour) then beloved; for with the help of the Church they hoped to maintain their liberty, and under the Emperour they feared to lose it: Yet the *Ghibellines*, seeing their Authority decay could not be quiet, but sought opportunities to resume the rule over the State; which they thought was put into their hands, when they saw *Manfred*, son of *Frederick*, become Lord of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and that he had much battered the power of the Church. Wherefore they held private intelligence with him

Their first acts.

The *Ghibellines* contrive against the State.

The *Uberti*
cited and
take Arms.

The State
overturned
by help of
Manfred
King of Na-
ples.

to regain their own authority, but could not carry things so close, but that their practices were discovered to the *Antiani*. Whereupon they cited the *Uberti*, who not only refused to obey, but taking Arms fortified themselves in their Houses. At which the people enraged took Arms, and with the help of the *Guelphes* made them retreat out of *Florence*, and with the whole *Ghibelline* party take shelter in *Siena*. From whence they sent for aid to *Manfred*, King of *Naples*, and by the industry of *Messer Farniata* of the *Uberti*, the *Guelphes* were by the forces of that King defeated near the River *Arbia*, with so dreadful a slaughter, that those who escaped from this rout fled not to *Florence* (judging their own City lost) but to *Lucca* for refuge. *Manfred* had made Count *Giordano* General of the Army, he sent to aid the *Ghibellines*, a man in those times of great reputation in Arms. He after the Victory goes with the *Ghibellines* to *Florence*, and reduced the City absolutely under the obedience of *Manfred*, annulling the Magistracy, and every other Order in which there appeared the least form of liberty; which injury imprudently executed, was entertained with the Universal hate of the people, so that from being enemies to the *Ghibellines*, they were now become utter abhorers of them, from whence in time their ruine ensued: And the necessity of the Kingdom, calling Count *Giordano* back to *Naples*, he left the Count *Guido Novello*,
Lord

Lord of *Casentino*, Vicar Royal in *Florence*. He calls a Council of *Ghibellines* at *Empoli*, where it was generally concluded that to preserve the power of the *Ghibelline* party in *Italy*, it was necessary to raze *Florence*, as the only City, likely (having its people all *Guelphes*) to recover strength to the Church party. This cruel sentence given against so noble a City, was neither by Citizen nor Friend (save only *Messer Farniata* of the *Uberti*) opposed, who openly, and without any Palliation defended it, telling them, That he would never with so much pains have run through so many perils, had he had other thoughts than to have lived in his native Country, and that he was so far now from quitting what he had so eagerly sought after, or refusing what Fortune had thrown upon him, that he would become (rather than submit to it) a fiercer Enemy to those that should design it, than he had ever been to the *Guelphes*; and if any one afraid of his Country sought its ruine, he doubted not to defend it with the same valour, wherewith he had chased out the *Guelphes*: Signior *Farniata* was a man of great courage experienced in War, head of the *Ghibellines*, and much esteemed by *Manfred*, so that his authority ended the dispute, and they began to consult of other ways, how to preserve the power in themselves. The *Guelphes* who fled to *Lucca*, warned by the *Lucchese* fearful of the Earls threats, went to *Bolonia*, whence by the *Guelphes* of *Par-*
ma,

The razing
of *Florence*
debated.

Opposed by
Farniata
Uberti.

The *Guelphs* fled to *Luc-ca*, go to assist those at *Parma*.

And the Pope gives them his Banners.

The State of *Florence* in part restored.

ma they were invited against the *Ghibellines*, and by their valour having overcome all their enemies, had their Estates given them: so that mounted to riches and honour, and hearing that Pope *Clement* had called in *Charles* of *Anjou* to take away the Kingdom from *Manfred*, they sent Ambassadors to the Pope, to offer him their assistance. And the Pope not only received them, but gave them his own Banner, which the *Guelphs* ever since bore in their Arms, and are the same still used in *Florence*. *Manfred* was soon after by *Charles* deprived of his Kingdom and slain; notice of which being arrived among the *Guelphs* at *Florence*, their party grew brisker, and the hands of the *Ghibellines* were weakned. Whereupon they, who together with Earl *Guido*, governed *Florence*, judged it requisite by some good offices to gain that people, they before had incensed with so many injuries, but those remedies (which had they been applyed in due time and order, might have helped, now when coming from necessity) wrought not any good effect, but only hastned their ruine. Yet thinking to gain the peoples friendship, and draw them to their party, they restored to them part of those Honours, and that Authority they had taken from them, and chose thirty six of the Commons of the City, who with two of the Nobles called from *Bologna*, they appointed to reform the Government of the City. These as soon as they met, divided

vided the City into Trades, and over every Trade appointed a Magistrate, who was to administer Justice to those under his charge. To every one of these companies they appointed a Banner, that under that they might parade when ever there was occasion of service; these at first were twelve Companies, seven greater and five less, afterwards the less came to be fourteen, so that they were in all, as they are at present, twenty one. The thirty six Reformers proceeding to other matters for the common good, Earl *Guido* to encourage and pay his Soldiers, designed a Tax to be laid on the Citizens: in which he found so much difficulty, and averfeness in the people, that he durst not attempt by force to levy what was already imposed. And thinking now the Government lost, he shut himself up with the Chiefs of the *Ghibellines*, and determined to take forceably from the people, what too imprudently he had granted them: And as they were getting their forces into order, the thirty six being assembled, and the Alarm being given, whereat they affrightned, retired to their houses, and presently the Banners of the Companies were spread, and many armed men gathered about them. And hearing how Earl *Guido*, with his party were at *St. Johns*, they rendezvoused at the Holy Trinity, and made *John Soldanieri* their Leader. The Earl on the other side, hearing where the people were, advanced to fight them: Nor did

Earl *Guido* beaten out of *Florence*.

did the people shun the skirmish, but encountered their enemies near the place now called the Lodge of the *Tornaquinci*, where the Earl was repulsed with the slaughter of many of his men, and thereupon so daunted, that he began to fear least the enemy should by night assail him, and finding his men beaten and out of order kill him. And so strongly did this imagination work in him, that without seeking any other remedy, he determined rather to save himself by flight than fight, and contrary to the advice of the heads of that Faction, goes with all his people to *Prato*: but as soon (as finding himself in a secure place) he had cashiered his fear, he saw his error, and would fain have mended it the next morning, and at break of day returns with all his people to *Florence*, to enter that City by force, which his cowardise had deserted: but his designs failed him, for that people, who might perhaps have found it a hard matter to have forced him thence, with ease now kept him out; so that with grief and shame he goes to *Casentino*, and the *Ghibellines* returned to their Villages. The people thus remaining conquerous by the encouragement of those who loved the common good, they next consulted the reunion of the City, and recalled all the Citizens as well *Guelfs* as *Ghibellines* which had been expelled: thus returned the *Guelfs* four years after there being driven out, and the *Ghibellines* were also pardoned their late

The City
once more
reunited.

late fresh injury, and restored to their Countrey, but were still violently hated both by the *Guelfs*, and the people, for those could not cancel the remembrance of their Banishment, and these too well kept in memory their tyranny, whilst they lived under their Government: so that neither one nor the other could have quiet minds. And whilst *Florence* was in this wavering condition, a rumour was spread abroad that *Conradine* Nephew of *Manfred* was coming with an Army out of *Germany* to the conquest of *Naples*, whereupon the *Ghibellines* began to swell with hopes they might once more regain their authority; and the *Guelfs* consulted how to secure themselves from their enemies, and sent to *Charles* for aids to defend themselves from *Conradine* in his passage; the coming of *Charles* and the *Guelfs*. these forces from *Charles* made the *Guelfs* become insolent, and so affrighted the *Ghibellines*, that two days before their arrival, without staying to be driven out they fled. The *Ghibellines* gone, the *Guelfs* made new orders for the Government of the City, and chose twelve heads, which should officiate in the magistracy for two months, whom they called not *Aldermen*, but *Good-men*; next to them was a Council of eighty Citizens, which they called the *Credenza*, and after them one hundred and eighty Commons, thirty for every division, and these together with the *Credenza*, and the twelve *Good-men* they called the General

They make
new rules of
Government
in *Florence*.

ral Council. They settled besides another Council of one hundred and twenty Citizens, Nobles and Commons, by which they gave perfection to all things debated in the other Council; and which disposed of Offices in the Common-wealth; this Government thus established, the faction of the *Guelfs* further fortified themselves with Magistrates and other Officers that they might with more authority defend themselves against the *Ghibellines*; whose goods they divided into three parts, the one of which they assigned to the publick, the next to the Magistrates of the Divisions, called Captains, and the third to the *Guelfs* in recompence of the losses they had sustained: The Pope likewise to uphold the faction of the *Guelfs* in *Tuscany*, makes King *Charles* Imperial Vicar of *Tuscany*. Thus the *Florentines* by virtue of this new Government, maintaining their reputation within, by Laws; and without, by Arms. In the interim the Pope dyes, and after a long dispute which lasted two years, Pope Gregory the Tenth was elected, who having long resided in *Syria*, and being there at the time of his Election, undequainted with the humours of the Factions did not look upon the *Guelfs* with that esteem his predecessors had done; and therefore being come to *Florence* in his passage to *France*, thought it the office of a good Pastor to reunite the City; and so far contributed to it, that the *Florentines* were content

The *Guelfs* divide the *Ghibellines* goods.

Pope Gregory not so kind to the *Florentines*.

content that the Syndicks or Commissioners of the *Ghibellines* should be admitted to mediate their return; and though the matter was concluded upon, yet the *Ghibellines* were so terrified that they durst not come home; the fault of all which the Pope laid upon the City, and in anger excommunicates them, under which contumacy they lay all the life of that Pope, but after his death they were by *Innocent* the Fifth absolved. *Nicolas* the Third of the house of *Orsini* was next exalted to the papacy, and because the Popes were always jealous of those who grew potent in *Italy*, (so that though by the Churches means and favour they arrived to their greatness, yet they always sought to humble and abase them) thence sprung the original of those many tumults and variety of troubles that ensued, for the fear of one grown strong, made the Church interpose a weaker, and as soon as he was raised to power, fearing and feared, they strove again to level him: this made one Pope snatch the Kingdom from *Manfred*, and give it to *Charles*, and this made another, grown jealous of him, seek his ruine, for now *Nicolas* the third moved by this mistrustful humour, by the Emperours means caused *Charles* to be removed from the Government of *Tuscany*; and in to that Province under the Imperial Commission was sent *Latinus* the Popes Legate. *Florence* was at this time in a very deplorable condition, for the Nobility of the *Guelf* Faction

Excommunicates them, and *Innocent* the Fifth absolves them.

King *Charles* removed from the Government of *Tuscany*; and the Popes Legate sent thither.

Faction were grown insolent, braving and fearless of the Magistracy, so that every day murders and other violences were committed, and the offenders escaped unpunished, being still favoured by some one of the Nobility; to bridle these inconveniences and riots, the heads of the people thought it convenient to call home those were fled, which gave opportunity to the Legate to reunite the City, and the *Ghibellines* returned, and instead of the twelve Governours they made fourteen, of each party seven, who were to rule a year, and be elected by the Pope. Florence submitted two years to this Government, till Pope *Martin* a Frenchman held the chair, who restored King *Charles* to all that authority *Nicolas* had deprived him off; whereupon of a sudden the Factions were again revived in *Tuscany*, for the *Florentines* took Arms against the Emperours Governour, and as well to deprive the *Ghibellines* of the Government, as to bridle the Nobility ordained a new order of Government: it was now in the year 1282, and the City Companies, since Magistrates were assigned them, and banners given them, were grown into great repute, whereupon by their own authority they ordained that instead of the fourteen, there should be three created, under the name of *Priors*, who should have the Government of the Republic for two months, and might be chosen out of the Gentlemen, or Commons, provided they were

New Factions.

New sort of Government

were Merchants or Tradesmen: reducing afterwards the first Magistrates to six, that out of every Ward there might be one, which order was continued till the year 1342, that the City was reduced into quarters, and the *Priors* made nine, though in that interval of time by reason of sundry accidents they sometimes made twelve. This Magistracy occasioned (as in time will appear) the ruine of the Nobility, who were by the people upon various occasions first excluded, and afterwards without any manner of respect oppressed: to which the Nobles themselves at first contributed, by not scorning to be united to the people, and each party too eagerly coveting to snatch the Government one from the other, they all lost it. They appointed this Magistracy a palace for their continual residence, it having formerly been the custom for the Magistrates and Councils to assemble in the Churches, they likewise honoured them with Sergeants and other necessary Ministers, and though at first they only called them *Priors*, yet for the greater Magnificence they added afterwards the stile of Lords, terming them the *Signory*. The *Florentines* were now for a while quiet at home, during which they made war with the *Aretini*, because they had chased out the *Guelfs*, and in *Campaldino* they happily overcame them. And the City increasing in men and riches, they thought fit likewise to enlarge their walls, and brought them

The *Florentines* war with the *Aretini*;

And enlarge their walls.

Cc

into

Dissentions
between
Nobles and
Commons.

* The word
signifies a
Standard-
bearer.

into the compass they now are, for at first its Diameter was only that space between the old Bridge and S. Laurence: War without and peace within had almost extinguish'd the Factions of *Ghibellines* and *Guelfs*; only those humours (naturally incident to all Cities) between the Nobility and the people were here inflamed, for the people being desirous to live according to Law, and the Nobles ambitious of Command, it is not possible they can ever agree together. This humour whilst the *Ghibellines* kept them in awe was not discovered, but as soon as they were tamed, it broke violently forth, and every day some of the people were injured, and the Laws and Magistrates were not powerful enough to vindicate them, for every Nobleman with his Kindred, Friends and Followers defended himself from the power of the Priors and Captains: the Heads therefore of the Companies desirous to remedy this inconvenience, made provision that every *Signory* at the entrance into their Office, should create a * *Galfoniere* of Justice out of the Commons, who should be ready with his Standard and men at Arms to assist Justice whenever by the Priors or Captains he was called, the first chosen was *Ubaldo Ruffoli*, he brought forth the Standard, and pull'd down the house of *Galetti*, because one of that Family had kill'd a Commoner in *Fraunce*, 'twas easie for the companies of Tradesmen to make this order, for the en-

mities

mities among the Nobles were awake, and they slept, never thinking of the provision made against them, till they saw the severity of this Execution, which stroke a terrour into them at first, but yet soon after they returned to their insolencies, for some of them being always of the Lords *Priors*, they had opportunities of hindring the *Gonfaloniere* from doing his Office; and besides that the accuser wanting Testimony could find none durst bear witness against the Nobles, so that in a short time *Florence* fell into the same disorders, and the people still received from the great men the same injuries; for the Judgment was gentle, and the sentence slowly or never executed: whereupon the people not knowing what course to take, *Gianodella Bella* of most noble blood, but a lover of the liberty of the City, encouraged the heads of the companies to reform the Government, and by his advice they ordained that the *Gonfaloniere* should reside with the *Priors*, and have four thousand men under his command; they likewise incapacitated all the Nobles of sitting among the Lords *Priors*, bound all the accomplices and accessaries of the crime in the same punishments with the principal, and made publick some sufficient Testimony to give Judgment: by these Laws which they called *the Ordinances of Justice*, the people gained a mighty reputation, and *Giano della Bella* as great hatred, for the Nobles bore him not a little ill will, as the de-

C c 2

stroyer

Severe Laws
against the
Nobility.

stroyer of their power, and the rich Citizens envied him, as thinking he had too much authority, which upon the first occasion was fully demonstrated. It happened that a Commoner was in a scuffle slain, wherein many Nobles were together, and because *Messer Corso Donati* who was amongst them appeared the boldest, the crime was attributed to him: wherefore the Captain of the people took him, but however matters went, either that *Corso* was not guilty, or that the Captain durst not condemn him, acquitted he was, which acquitment highly displeased the people, so that taking Arms, they run to *Giano della Bella's* house, and besought him he would be a means to see those Laws observed, which himself had invented; *Giano* who desired that *Corso* should be punished never made them lay down their Arms, as many thought he ought to have done, but advised them to go to the Signory to make their complaint, and desire right to be done, upon which the people enraged (judging themselves wronged by the Captain, and slighted by *Giano*) went not to the Signory, but to the Captains Palace, and took and sack'd it, which action mightily displeased the Citizens, and those who sought the ruine of *Giano*, laid all the fault upon him, and so among the Lords that composed the succeeding Signory, there happening some that were his enemies, he was accused to the Captain as a mover of the people to insurrections, and

and whilest his cause was debating, the people armed themselves, offering to defend him against his enemies the Lords; *Giano* would not make trial of these popular favours, nor commit his life to the Magistracy, for he knew the malice of one, and the inconstancy of the other; so that to take away from his enemies an opportunity of injuring him, and from his friends of disobliging their Countrey, he determined to depart, and to give place to envy, and so to free the Citizens of the fears they had of him, and leaving that City, which with so much trouble and hazard he had freed from the slavery of the great men, he cast himself into voluntary exile. After his departure the Nobility began to conceive hopes of recovering their Dignity, and judging their misfortune to have accrewed by their Divisions, uniting themselves, sent two of their number to the Signory, whom they believed favoured them, to desire them to be content to moderate in some measure the severity of some Laws made against them; which demand, as soon as it was discovered, stirred up the minds of the people, for they were doubtful least the Lords should grant their request, and thus between the desire of the Nobles, and suspicion of the people, arms were on both sides taken up: the Nobles made head in three places, at *S. Johns*, in the new Market, and in the place called *Mozzi*, and under three Leaders, *Messer Forese Adimari*, *Messer Vanni de*

The Nobility and Commons take Arms.

Mozzi and *Messer Geri Spini*, and the people in mighty numbers flock'd to their Colours, under the palace of the Lords *Priors*, who then dwelt near the Church of *Proculus*: and because the people had some suspicion of the *Signory*, they deputed six Citizens to govern with them: whilst both parties thus stood prepared for the skirmish, some as well of the people, as of the Nobles, together with some religious men of great repute went between them to mediate a pacification, putting the Nobles in mind,

A pacification endeavoured.

“ That the honours they were deprived of,
 “ and the Laws made against them were occasioned by their own pride, and haughty carriage, and that now to take Arms to repeal by force, what their own discords and ill managements had caused to be enacted against them, could produce no other effect than the ruine of their Countrey, and the making their own condition worse, that the people were superiour to them both in numbers, hatred and riches, and that that Nobility by which they thought themselves so far advanced above others, was but an empty name, when men came to blows, for the Nobles sword cut no deeper than the Commons, nor could Titles defend them against multitudes. On the other side they represented to the people, “ That it was not convenient to pursue victories to extremes, nor wisdom to force men to despair, for he who hopes no good, fears
 “ no

“ no ill. That they ought to consider
 “ that the Nobility were the men, who in times of war had honoured that City,
 “ and therefore it was not just to persecute them with so much hatred; and as the Nobles had easily condescended to be deprived of enjoying the supreme Magistracy, but could not endure it should be in every ones power to drive them at pleasure out of their Countrey, it was highly convenient to mitigate something of that unlimited severity, and by such a good Office make them lay down their Arms: that it was but a vain presumption to attempt the fray in confidence of their numbers, since it had been often seen the many had been overcome by the few. The people were in many minds, some would needs fight as a thing that must one day be done, and therefore it was better to do it now, than to stay till their enemies were stronger, alleadging that if they could believe that the mitigation of the Laws could content the Nobles, it would do well to mitigate them, but their pride was such, that they would never be at quiet till they were forced to it: others wiser and more peaceably inclined, were of opinion that the moderating of the Laws was of no great importance, but coming to a bickering of utmost concern to both, insomuch that their opinion prevailed, and it was enacted that in accusations against Noblemen, proof by witnesses was necessary: laying hereupon

Arms laid
down, but
jealousies
continue.

down their arms both parties still remained full of suspicion, and fortified themselves with Castles and Arms; and the people reformed the Government, reducing it to a lesser number; out of an opinion they had that those Lords were favourers of the Nobility, the chief of those remained were *Manzini*, *Magolotti*, *Altoviti*, *Peruzzi* and *Cerretani*. The State thus settled, for the greater magnificence and security of the Lords, in the year 1298 they founded their palace, and made a Court of the houses formerly belonging to the *Uberti*. At the same time likewise they began to build the publick prisons, all which buildings were in few years finished; nor ever was the City in a more magnificent or happy condition than now, abounding in men, buildings and reputation, the trained bands of the City being thirty thousand, and those of the Country seventy thousand; all *Tuscany* partly as Subjects, partly as friends obeyed them. And though between the Nobles and the people there still remained some grudge and jealousy, it never produced any malignant effects, but they lived in peace and union, which happy tranquility had it not been disturbed by new enmities within, need have doubted nothing from abroad, for the City stood then upon such terms as made it fearless either of the Emperour or its own Exiles, and might vye power with any other State in *Italy*: but those mischiefs which could not be done from abroad, were

were by intestine dissensions executed. There were in *Florence* two Families, the *Cerchi* and the *Donati*, both of them in Nobility, Riches, and men very powerful, between these, being Neighbours, some dissensions had happened, but not so great as to bring them to extremities, and possibly they might have been quite extinguished, had not the ill humours by other accidents been augmented. Among the Prime Families of *Pistoia* was that of the *Cancellieri*, it happened that *Lori*, Son of *William*; and *Geri*, Son of *Bertaccio*, all of that Family being at play fell to words; and passing farther, *Geri* happened to receive a slight wound, which accident much displeased *Messer William*, who imagining by humility to remove the scandal increased it: For he commanded his Son to go to the Father of the wounded Gentleman, and ask him pardon; *Lori* obeys his Father. But this act of so much humanity sweetened not at all the bitter mind of *Bertaccio*, but causing his servants to lay hold on *Lori*, to add the more contempt to the action, he caused his hand to be cut off upon a Dresser: withal adding, *Go back to thy Father, and tell him that wounds are to be saved with steel, and not with words*. This barbarous cruelty so much enraged *Messer William*, that he made all his friends take arms to revenge it, and *Bertaccio* armed likewise to defend himself; and not only that Family, but the whole City

New dissensions in
Florence.

The occasion sprung
from
Pistoia.

The great
quarrel of
the Bianchi
and Neri.

City of *Pistoia* was divided. And because the *Cancellieri* were descended of Signior *Cancellieri*, who had two wives, whereof one was named *Biancha* (which signifies White) those descended of her called themselves *Bianchi*, and the other to take a name contrary to that, called themselves *Neri* (which signifies Black.) There happened many fatal bickerings between them with great slaughter of men, and ruine of houses, and not finding a way to reconciliation among themselves, weary of doing mischief, and desirous to put an end to their discords, or by dividing others with them, increase them, they came to *Florence*, and the *Neri* having had acquaintance with the *Donati*, were by them favoured; whereupon the *Bianchi*, that they might have a powerful prop to uphold them against the *Donati*, had recourse to Mr. *Veri d' Cerchi*, a man no way, nor in any quality inferiour to *Messer Corso Donati*. This humour thus brought from *Pistoia*, revived and increased the ancient hatred between the *Cerchi* & *Donati*, which was already so apparent, that the Lords *Priors*, and many good Citizens were every minute in doubt lest they should come to arms, & with themselves divide the whole City. They therefore addressed themselves to the Pope, beseeching him by his authority to apply that remedy, to these growing humours, which it was beyond their power to do: the Pope sends for *Messer Veri*, and charges him to make peace with the *Donati*, at which he seems much to wonder, telling him

him that he had no enmity with them, and because making peace presupposes a war, he did not understand how peace was to be made, since there was no war between them. *Veri* therefore returning from *Rome* without any other conclusion, the humours swell'd to such a height, that they were ready upon any slight occasion, as soon afterwards they did to break out. It was in the month of *May* when on Holy-days they use publick sports, and Dancing in the Streets of *Florence*, and some young Gentlemen, as well of the *Donati* as their friends, being on horse-back, stood to see some women dance near the Place of the holy Trinity, whither soon after came some of the *Cerchi*, accompanied with many other Gentlemen, and not knowing the *Donati* that were before them, but desirous to see the sport spurr'd up their Horses amongst them, and a little crouded upon them, at which the *Donati* thinking themselves affronted drew their swords, and the *Cerchi* bravely answered them, and after many wounds given, and taken on both sides, they parted. This disorder was of every sad consequence for the whole City, as well people as Nobility was divided, and the parties took the names of *Bianchi* and *Neri*: The heads of the *Bianchi* were the *Cerchi*, and to them adhered the *Adimari*, the *Abbati*, part of the *Tosinghi*, *Bardi*, *Rossi*, *Frescobaldi*, *Nerli*, and *Mannelli*: All the *Mozzi*, *Scali*, *Gerrardini*, *Cavalcanti*, *Malespini*, *Bostichi*, *Gian-*
donati,

Florence divided into
Bianchi and
Neri.

donati, Vecchietti, and Arrigueszi. To these many Families of the people, and all the *Ghibellines* in Florence adhered, so that for the mighty number that followed them, they had, as it were, the whole Government of the City. The *Donati* on the other side were Chiefs of the *Neri*, and with them joyned that part of the abovementioned Families which followed not the *Bianchi*, and besides all the *Pazzi, Bisdomini, Mani-eri, Baguefe, Tornaquinci, Spini, Buondel-monti, Giansigliazzi, Bruncelleschi*, nor did this contagion only infect the City, but the whole Country likewise was divided. Whereupon the Captains of the Divisions, and whoever was a lover of the *Guelphs*, and the republick began to fear lest this new division should, together with the ruine of the City, revive the power of the *Ghibel-lines*, and sent again to Pope Boniface to consult of a remedy, unless he would have that City, which had always been the Buckler of the Church, ruined or turned *Ghibelline*. Whereupon the Pope sends Matthew d' Aquasparta, Cardinal Portuese, Legat to Florence, who because he found the *Bianchi* high and stonackful, for that they being the greater party stood least in aw, he goes in anger from Florence, and ex-communicates it; so that he left the City in a greater confusion than it was before his coming thither. And now all men having heart-burnings in their breasts: It happened that at a Funèral where there were

The Pope besought to find a remedy to compose these bloody dissensions.

were a great many of the *Cerchi* and *Donati*, they came to words, and thence to blows; though this happened to be only a tumult, and soon appeased: But every one being returned to their houses, the *Cerchi* resolved to assault the *Donati*, and with great numbers went to search them out; but by the valour of Messer Corso they were repulsed, and many of the people wounded; the City was all in Arms; the Lords and the Laws were trampled on by the fury of the Stronger; the wisest and best Citizens lived in jealousy and fear; the *Donati* on their part feared the most, because they could do the least; therefore to provide the best they could for themselves, Messer Corso assembling with the other Heads of the *Neri*, and the Captains of the Divisions agreed to request of the Pope, that one of the Blood-Royal might be sent to reform Florence, hoping by that means to overcome the *Bianchi*. This assembly and debate was told to the *Priors*, and by the adverse party, aggravated as a conspiracy against the liberty of the City; and both parts being in Arms, the *Signory* (of whose number Dante then was one) by his counsel and prudence took heart, and armed the people, to whom many out of the Country joyned, they at length forced the Heads of both parties to lay down Arms, and confined Messer Corso *Donati*, and many that took part with the *Neri*: and to show that they were not partial in judgement, they likewise

wife confined some of the *Bianchi*, all which soon afterwards upon their pretences of honest occasions they released. *Messer Corso* with his adherents, because they thought the Pope favourable to their party, went to *Rome*, and the requests they had before made in writing to the Pope, they now by word of mouth renewed. There happened then to be in the Court of *Rome*; *Charles* of *Valois*, brother to the King of *France*, who was invited by the King of *Naples* to make an invasion of *Sicily*. The Pope therefore thought convenient (being so earnestly pressed by the expelled *Florentines* fled thither) that till the season were more proper for the Sea, he should go to *Florence*. *Charles* accordingly comes, and though the *Bianchi*, who now ruled all were jealous of him, yet being Head of the *Guelphs*, and sent by the Pope, they durst not obstruct his coming, but to engage his friendship, gave him authority to dispose of the City at his pleasure. *Charles* having this Authority, Arms all his friends and confederates, which created such a jealousy in the people, that he designed to deprive them of their Liberty, that every one took Arms and stood in the entrance of their houses, to be in readiness if *Charles* made the least motion. The *Cerchi*, and the Heads of the *Bianchi* (having been sometime Heads of the Republick) had by their proud behaviour made themselves universally hated, which encouraged *Messer Corso*, and others fled

Charles of Valois sent by the Pope to Florence.

fled thence with him, to return to *Florence*, the rather because they were favoured by *Charles*, and the Captains of the Wards. And when the City, out of fear of *Charles*, was all in Arms: *Corso* with his fled friends, and many others that followed him, entred *Florence* without any impediment: And though *Veri de Cerchi* was advised and encouraged to oppose him, yet he would not do it, saying that the people of *Florence*, against whom he came, should chastise him, but it fell out quite contrary, for he was received and not chastised by them, and *Messer Veri* to save himself constrained to flee, for *Messer Corso*, as soon as he had forced the gate of *Pinti*, drew up at great *St. Peters*, a place near to his house, and having got together multitudes of friends and people, who desirous of novelty flockt to him, first cleared the Prisons of all that either upon private or publick accounts were imprisoned; then he forced the Lords to return as private persons to their houses, and chuse new ones from among the people favourers of the *Neri*: And for five days employed his forces in sacking the houses of the principal men of the party of the *Bianchi*. The *Cerchi* and other Chiefs of their faction were gone out of the City, and retired into strong places, seeing *Charles* against them, and the most part of the people their enemies. And whereas before they would never follow the advice of the Pope, they were forced to

The *Neri* prevail.

And the *Bianchi* flee.

The Popes
Nuntio
makes a
fickle recon-
ciliation.

to flee to him for succour, representing to him that *Charles* was come to breed division, and not to unite *Florence*. Whereupon the Pope sent again his Legat *Matthew de Aquasparta*, who made peace between the *Cerchi* and *Donati*, and confirmed it by new alliances and intermarriages, but being desirous that the *Bianchi* should likewise have share in office and command; the *Neri* who had got the Government into their hands, would not admit it, whereupon he departed from *Florence* with as little satisfaction, and no less anger than before, leaving the City for its disobedience excommunicated. So both factions continued still in *Florence*, and both discontented. The *Neri* seeing their enemies so near them were angry and jealous, lest with their ruine they should snatch again from them their Honours and Authority. To which anger and natural jealousy, they added new injuries. *Messer Nicholas Cerchi*, with many of his friends, going to his Estate in the Country, was by *Simon*, Son of *Messer Corso Donati* met at the *Affrican Bridge* and assaulted, the fray was bloody, and doleful to both sides in the end, for *Nicholas* was slain, and *Simon* dyed next night of his wounds. This scuffle disturbed the City afresh, and though the party of the *Neri* were most in the fault, yet were they by those then governed and defended. And before judgement was given, there was a conspiracy discovered to have been held by the *Bianchi* with *Peter Ferrante*, a Baron

Baron of *Charles's*, with whom they had plotted to be restored to the government, which thing came to light, by Letters written from the *Cerchi* to him, though it was the opinion of many that the Letters were counterfeit, and produced by the *Donati* to varnish over that disrepute they had got by the death of *Nicholas*: However the *Cerchi* were all confined, together with all their followers of the Faction of the *Bianchi* (amongst whom was *Dante* the Poet) their goods put to sale, and their houses razed to the ground: Those that saved themselves, with many *Ghibellines* that adhered to their party, went up and down to sundry places, with new troubles seeking out new Fortunes. And *Charles* having done what he came to do at *Florence*, returned to the Pope to pursue his enterprize against *Sicily*; In which he proved neither wiser nor honeste than he had been in *Florence*; so that in the end with disgrace and the loss of most of his Army, he returned into *France*. *Florence* after *Charles* his departure lived very quietly: Only *Messer Corso* was unquiet within himself, because he held not that degree in the City he thought becoming him. But on the contrary, the Government being popular, he beheld the administration of affairs committed to many much his inferiours, and incited by these troublesome passions, he cast about how by an honest pretence he might justify the dishonesty of his heart; calumniating many Citizens who

Charles re-
turns from
Florence to
Rome.

D d

had

had had the administration of publick monies, as if they had converted it to their private use, and proposing it as convenient to find them out and punish them. This opinion was seconded by many, who had desires like his, to which was added the ignorance of many, who believed *Messer Corso* moved to this out of love to his Country: On the other side, the wronged Citizens having the favour of the people, defended themselves, and after many disputes, to blows they came. On one side were *Messer Corso*, and *Messer Lottieri*, Bishop of *Florence*, with many Nobles and some Commons; and on the other side, the *Signiory* with the most part of the people, so that the scuffle was in many parts of the City at once. And the *Signiory* seeing what hazard they were like to run, sent to *Lucca* for aid, and presently all the people of *Lucca* were come to *Florence*, by whose authority things were for the present composed, the tumults quieted, and the people settled in their State and Liberty, without any punishment of the Authors of the Sedition. The Pope had heard of these Tumults in *Florence*, and sent his Legat *Nicholas de Prato* thither; he being a man both for his Birth, Degree, Learning and Manners of great reputation, gained presently so much credit, that they gave him authority to reform and settle the State as he pleased: And because he was a Native *Ghibelline*, he designed to restore those were banished.

But

New civil
broils in
Florence.

The Pope
sends *Nicholas de Prato*
Legat to
Florence.

But he first thought fit to gain the Commons, and therefore restored the ancient companies of the people, which order much increased their power, and quelled that of the great men. Thus the Legat thinking he had obliged the multitude, designs next to restore those were fled, and after trying many ways, was not only unsuccessful in them all, but fell under such jealousies of those that governed, that he was forced to depart, & full of indignation returned to the Pope, leaving the City of *Florence* in confusion, and excommunicated. Nor was it only with one evil humour, but with many that this City was infested, there being at one time the factions of the Nobles and People, of the *Guelphes* and *Ghibellines*, and of the *Bianchi* and *Neri*. And now again was the whole Town in Arms, and continual skirmishes happened. And the first that moved this new broil were the *Medici*, and the *Junii*, who in favour of the Rebels had disclosed themselves to, and joyned with the Legat: So that there was now fighting in many parts of *Florence* at once. And to add to these miseries happened a fire, which broke out first in the Gardens of *St Michael* in the Abbots house, and from thence spread it self into the houses of the *Capon-sacchi*, and burnt them, together with the houses of the *Mozzi*, the *Aniceti*, the *Toschi*, *Cipriani*, *Lomberti* and *Cavalcanti*, and all the new Market, from thence it got into the street, called *Porta Sancta Maria*, and burnt

A great fire
in *Florence*.

1304.

it all, and wheeling about by the old Bridge, burnt the houses of the *Gerardini*, *Pulci*, *Amadei*, and *Lucardesi*, and with these so many more, that the number amounted to 1700 or more. It was the opinion of many, that in the heat of the scuffle this fire happened by chance: But others affirmed that it was kindled by the Abbot *Neri Prior* of *St. Peter Scarraggio*, a dissolute fellow given over to all wickedness, who seeing the people engaged in fighting, designed to act a villany, not to be remedied whilst men were otherwise employed; and that his mischievous intent might have the better success, he threw the fire into his consorts house. It was in the year 1304, when *Florence* was thus afflicted with fire and sword. *Messer Corso*, only among so many tumults was not in Arms, judging he might by keeping quiet, the easier come to be made Umpire between both parties, when weary of fighting they should incline to an agreement: yet they laid down their Arms, more because they were glutted with misery, than that they had any desire of Union, the only event was, that the Rebels did not return, and that the party favouring them had the worst of it. The Legat returned to *Rome*, and hearing of these new troubles, perswaded the Pope that if he would unite *Florence*, he must send for twelve of the principal Citizens to come to him, whereby what nourished the mischief, being removed, it would be the easier to extinguish it.

This

this council the Pope accepted, and the Citizens summoned, obeyed; among whom was Signior *Corso Donati*: after whose departure, the Legate let those were fled out of the City know; that now was their time (whilst the *Florentines* were deprived of their chieftes) to return, whereupon the Rebels making all the force they could, came to *Florence*, and entring by the wall not yet quite finished, marched as far as *S. John's* place. 'Twas remarkable that those who but a little before had fought for their return (when unarmed they entreated to be restored to their Countrey) now seeing them return armed, and endeavour to possess the City by force, (so much did they esteem common good, before private friendship) took arms against them, and uniting themselves with the rest of the people, forced them to return from whence they came. These people lost their design by leaving part of their men at *Lastra*, and not staying for *Tolosetto Uberti*, who with three hundred horse was to come from *Pistoia*, for they thought celerity rather than strength was to get them the victory: So it often happens in enterprizes, that delay takes away the opportunity, and hast the power. The Rebels gone, *Florence* relapsed into its old Divisions, and to take away the authority of the family of the *Cavalcanti*, seized by force on the *Stinche*, a Castle situate in the *vale de greve*, anciently belonging to that Family; and because

The Rebels attempt to possess themselves of the City.

But are repulsed.

those that were taken in it were the first that were put into the prisons newly erected, they called those prisons from the name of the place whence they were brought, the *Stinche*, which name they to this day retain. The heads of the Republick restored likewise the companies of the people, and gave them the banners, under which the companies of the Trades first drew together, and they entituled the chiefest of them Standard-bearers of the Companies, and Colleagues of the Lords, and appointed them to assist the Signory against tumults with their arms, and in peace with their Council; to the two ancient Rectors or Governors they joined an Executioner, who together with *Consulieri*, or Standard-bearers were to proceed against the insolencies of the great men. In the mean time the Pope dyed, and *Messer Corso* and the others were returned, and the City might have lived in peace; had it not been afresh disturbed by the restless mind of *Corso*. This man to gain himself reputation was always contradictory to whatever was the opinion of those in authority, and still made his own authority comply with whatever he saw was the inclination of the people; and of all dissensions and novelties he was the head, and to him for assistance run all those who desired to obtain some extraordinary thing, wherefore many Citizens of repute hated him, and this hatred increased in such manner that the party of the

the

the *Neri* fell into open Division, for *Corso* valued himself on his private power and authority, and his adversaries on the Commonwealths; but such was the awe his presence carried with it, that every one feared him; however to lift him from the peoples favour they took a sure and ready course, which was by spreading abroad that he designed to usurp the Tyranny, and that it was the easier to perswade them to, because his course of life exceeded all moderate and civil bounds, which opinion increased, because he now married a daughter of *Uguccio* of *Fagnola*, head of the *Ghibellines* and *Bianchi*, and very powerful in *Tuscany*; as soon as this marriage came to be known, it gave such heart to his adversaries, that they took arms against him, and the people were so far from defending him that most of them joined with his enemies: the heads of his adversaries were *Rossa della Tosa*, *Pazzini de Pazzi*, *Gerl Spini*, and *Berto Brunelleschi*, these with their followers gathered together in Arms before the Palace of the Lords, and by their order put in an accusation to *Peter Branca* Captain of the people against *Messer Corso*, as a man who by the assistance of *Uguccio* sought to make himself Tyrant; upon which he was cited, and presently for contempt adjudged a Rebel: nor was there any longer time spent between the accusation and the sentence than the space of two hours: Judgment thus given, the

D d 4

Lords

Corso Donati
condemned;

His house
assaulted;

His brave
Defence.

Lords with the company of the people, with banners flying went to find him out. Messer Corso on mean while, though he saw himself forsaken by many of his own friends, sentence given against him, the Lords with their Authority, and multitudes of his enemies coming to assault him, was not at all daunted, but fortified himself in his house, hoping that Uguccio whom he had sent to, would come and relieve him: His house, and all the ways to it were barricadoed by him, and so well defended by the friends that adhered to him, that though the people were so numerous they could not overcome them, however the skirmish was hot, and many killed and wounded on both sides; and the people seeing they could not by open ways overcome him, possessed themselves of the next adjoining houses, and by breaking through places not at all mistrusted, entered his house; Corso now seeing himself encompassed with enemies, and trusting no longer to Uguccio's help, resolved since he despaired of victory, to try if he could save himself; whereupon he and Gerrard Bonduci, with many others of his valiant and faithful friends, charging furiously upon the people forced their way through them, and got out of the City by the Gate of the Cross; however they were pursued by so many, that Gerrardi was on the African Bridge by Boccaccio Caniculli slain, and Messer Corso by some Catalonian horse in the Signory's pay at

at Rovezano overtaken, and made prisoner, but in his return towards Florence, that he might not be gazed upon by his victorious enemies, or perhaps torn in pieces by them, he suffered himself to fall off his horse, and was by one of those had the Guard of him dispatch'd, his body was taken up by the Monks of S. Salvi, and without any pomp buried: such was the end of Messer Corso, from whom his Countrey and the Neri had received many good and evil Offices, who had he had a more quiet mind, his memory might have been more happy; yet deserves he to be enrolled among the bravest Citizens our City can boast off: 'Tis true, his factious and restless spirit made both his Countrey and his confederates forbear conferring honours on him, had else been his due, and proved at last both the cause of his own death, and of much mischief to them: Uguccio coming to aid his son in Law, hearing at Remoli how he was oppressed by the people, and judging he could not do him any good, that he might not do mischief to himself, returned back. Messer Corso dead (which happened in the year 1308) the tumults ceased, and the City lived in peace till such time as they heard that the Emperour Harry was coming into Italy with all the Florentine Rebels, whom he had promised to restore to their Countrey, whereupon the heads of the Commonwealth thought fit to lessen the number of their enemies, and to that end deter-

Corso Donati's Death.

The Florentine Rebels coming with Harry the Emperour.

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mined that all who had not by special nature been banished, should be recalled, so that there remained still excluded almost all the *Ghibellines*, and some of the *Bianchi*, among which were *Dante*, *Alighieri*, the children of *Veri de Cerchi*, and *Giano de Bella*: they sent moreover for aid to *Robert King of Naples*, and seeing they could not obtain it as friends, they gave him the City for five years, on condition that with his Forces he should defend it: the Emperour coming, took the way of *Pisa*, and so by the Sea-coast to *Rome*, where he was crowned, 1312. and afterwards determining to tame the *Florentines*, comes by the way of *Perugia* and *Arezzo* to *Florence*, and sits down at the Monastery of *S. Salvi*, within a mile of the City, where he staid fifty days without doing any thing, insomuch that despairing of disturbing the Government and State of that City, he goes to *Pisa*, where he makes an agreement with *Frederick King of Sicily* to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, and being marched thither with his Army, in the height of his hopes of a victory, and King *Robert's* fears of ruine, at *Bonconvento* he dyes. It happened a while afterwards that *Uguccio de Fagnola* becomes Lord of *Pisa*, and presently after of *Lucca*, where he was put in by the *Ghibelline* party, and now with the help of these two Cities did great damage to his Neighbours, which the *Florentines* to free themselves from, desired of King *Robert* that his brother *Peter* might

The *Florentines* crave aid of *Robert King of Naples*.

The Emperour sits down before *Florence*.

Uguccio Lord of *Pisa*.

might command their Forces: whilest *Uguccio* on the other side ceased not to enlarge his Dominion, and by force or stratagem had in the Vale of *Arno*, and in the Vale of *Nievole* taken many Towns and Castles: and sitting now down with his Forces before *Monte Catini*, the *Florentines* thought it necessary to relieve it, and not let this fire consume their whole Territory, raising to that end a great Army, they marched to the Vale of *Nievole*, where they engaged with *Uguccio*, and after a sharp encounter were routed, here dyed *Peter* the Kings brother (whose body could never be found) and with him more than two thousand men were slain: nor had *Uguccio's* side any cause to rejoice at the victory, he losing his son, and many of the chief Leaders of his Army. The *Florentines* after this loss strengthened their Towns within, and the King sent them for their General the Count *de Andrea*, whom they called the new Count, by whose deportment, or because it is natural to the *Florentines*, that all Governments grow irksome to them, and every accident divides the City, notwithstanding the war they had with *Uguccio*, the City was again divided into Friends, and enemies to the King; the chief of the enemies were *Simon della Tosa*, the *Magolotti*, with some of the Populacy that were superior to others in the Government, these sent into *France* and *Germany* to levy men, and fetch Captains, that at their arrival they

Peter the Kings Brother slain.

Count *Andrea*, General of the *Florentines*.

The City again divided

they might drive out the Earl, that was Governour for the King; but as fortune would have it, they could get none, yet they left not off, but seeking assistance every where, though they could not from *France* nor *Germany* have any, they prevailed at *Agobbio*, and having first driven out the Count, brought in *Lando* of *Agobbio*, and made him *Bargello* or Executor, giving him the amplest power any had ever had over the Citizens; this was a ravenous and cruel man who with his Soldiers marched up and down the Countrey, putting to death one or other at the will and pleasure of those that had elected him; and grew at last so insolent, that he stamped false money of the *Florentine* coin, whilest no body durst question or oppose him, to such a height had the discords of *Florence* raised him, a great, 'tis true, but miserable City, whom neither the remembrance of their past Divisions, nor the fear of *Uguccio*, nor the Authority of a King could keep constant. The Kings friends and opposers to *Lando* and his followers, were Nobles or wealthy Commons, and all *Gnells*, yet because their Adversaries had the Government in their hands, they could not without great danger discover themselves; but having determined to free themselves from so vile and tyrannical oppression, they writ privily to King *Robert*, that he should make Count *Guido* of *Butifolle* his Lieutenant at *Florence*, which the King gave present orders for (and though the

Lando of *Agobbio*'s Tyranny.

Guido of *Butifolle* the Kings Lieutenant at *Florence*.

the Lords were the Kings opposers) yet the adverse party durst not, because of the excellent qualities of the Earl, refuse him, yet he had not much authority, for the Signory and Standard-bearers of the Companies favoured *Lando* and his party. Whilest they lived under these afflictions in *Florence*, the Daughter of *Albertus* Emperour of *Germany*, came to *Florence* in her way towards *Naples*, whither she was going to *Charles* the Son of *Robert* her Husband; she was very honourably received by the Kings friends: who complained to her of the sad condition of the City, and the tyrannies of *Lando*, insomuch that before she parted, by her means, and those of the Kings party, the Citizens united, and *Lando* was deprived of his Authority, and (glutted with blood and plunder) sent back to *Agobbio*. In the Reformation of the Government, the Signory was for three years prorogued to the King, and because there was already seven Lords elected of those of *Lando*'s Faction, they chose six of the Kings, and some Magistracies were held with only thirteen Lords, but afterwards according to custom, they brought them again to fourteen. In or about this time the Signorys of *Lucca* and *Pisa* were taken from *Uguccio*, and *Castruccio Castrucani* Citizen of *Lucca* became Lord of them, who being a young man, bold and courageous, and withal fortunate in his undertakings, in a very short time became head of all the *Ghibellines* in *Tuscany*; whereupon the *Florentines*

Castruccio Castrucani Lord of *Lucca* and *Pisa*.

times laying aside their civil-discords, consulted how to stop the growth of *Castruccio's* greatness, and defend themselves against the power he had already attained to: and because the *Signory* should better deliberate and weigh all affairs, and with greater authority execute them, they chose twelve Citizens, whom they called *Good-men*, without whose counsel and consent the Lords could do nothing of importance: The time of the Government assigned to King *Robert* was now expired, and the City becoming Prince over it self, re-established the ancient and usual Governours and Magistrates: the great fear they stood in of *Castruccio* kept them united, who after many feats done by him against the Lords of *Livorniana*, besieged *Prato*; whereupon the *Florentines* resolving to relieve it, shut up their shops, and the people marched out twenty thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse: and to weaken *Castruccio*, and strengthen themselves, they made Proclamation, That whatever Rebel *Guelf* should come to the relief of *Prato*, he should after that Action was over, be restored to their Countrey, whereupon above four thousand Rebels came in: This so great Army, so quickly brought to *Prato* daunted *Castruccio* in such manner, that without trusting to the Fortune of a Fight, he retreated towards *Lucca*: whereupon grew a difference in the *Florentine* Camp, between the Nobles and people: These would have followed him, and by

The *Florentines* afraid of *Castruccio*.

He besieges *Prato*.

Difference in the *Florentine* Camp.

falling in his rear have destroyed him: Those would return, alleading that it was enough to have put *Florence* in danger to deliver *Prato*, which was well enough to be born with, whilst they were constrained by necessity, but now that was taken away, it was not at all convenient to tempt fortune, where the loss might be great, and the advantage could be but small. Thus, they not agreeing, the business was referred to the determination of the Lords, who met in their Council with the same difference between people and Lords, which being understood in the City, the rabble tumultuously assembled in the great place, uttering many reproachful words against the Nobles, till they for fear consent to the pursuit of *Castruccio*, but the resolution being taken too late, and unwillingly, the enemy had time to secure himself in *Lucca*: this disorder so enraged the people against the Lords, that they would not permit their word passed by Proclamation to the Rebels (though done by their own order and consent) to be performed, which the exiles having some hints of, that they might anticipate this resolve, they presented themselves before the City gate, to enter *Florence* in the Front of the Army, which matter being foreseen, they were by those which still remained in *Florence* repulsed, but to see whether they could have that by fair means, which they could not get by force, they sent eight Ambassadors

bassadours, to put the Lords in mind of their promise; and faith given, and to consider the dangers they had run through out of hopes, to have that promise made good to them; and though the Nobles (who thought themselves, and their honours obliged in this cause, because they had particularly promised what the Lords had proclaimed) laboured as much as they could in their behalfs, yet the Pique, the generality of the people had taken (that since they had not overcome *Castruccio* in fight, they could not pretend to it) was so universal, that they could not obtain it, which was a heavy blur and dishonour to the City. And many of the Nobles were so incensed at it, that they attempted to gain that by force, which they could not do by perswasion, and agreed privately with the Out-laws, that they should come armed to the City, and they within would take Arms in their assistance; but the plot was discovered before the appointed day, in so much that the exiles found the City in Arms, and in order ready to stop those without, which so frightened those within, that not one durst take Arms, so that hopeless they retreated, and gave over the enterprize. After their departure it was moved, that condign punishment should be inflicted on those, who had been the guilty cause of their coming, but though every one knew who were the delinquents, none durst name or accuse them: Wherefore that the truth

truth might be known without respect, it was ordered, that in the Council they should write down the Delinquents names, and privately give the writing to the Captain of the people, by which means accusations were given in against *Amserigho Donati*, *Teghiaio Frescobaldi*, and *Lotteringho Gerardini*, who finding a more favourable Judge than possibly their faults deserved, were only fined. The Tumults which were raised in *Florence*, by the Rebels coming to the Gates, made it appear, that one Chief was not enough for the Companies of the people, and therefore for the future they would have three or four Leaders for each Company, and to every Standard-bearer, they added two or three, which they called *Pennoniers*, to the end, that in time of necessity, where all the Company was not to be drawn together, part of it might be employed under one of the Leaders, and part under others. And as it happens in all Republicks, after some accidents, old Laws are repealed, and new ones enacted; whereas formerly the Lords were created from time to time, the Signiory and their Colleagues now sitting (to amplyfic and enlarge their power) enacted, that they and their successors should continue forty Months, whose names they put into a purse, and every two months drew them, but before the term of forty Months was past, many of the Citizens doubting that they were not in the purse, there was a new imbur-

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sation required. From this beginning sprung the order of chusing out the of purse the Magistrates both within and without the City, whereas, first, at the end of their Magistracy, by the succeeding Council they were chosen: These and the names thus put into the purse, they afterwards called * *Squittini*; and because every three, or at most every five years only it was done, they conceived it eased the City of much trouble, and took away many occasions of Tumults, which at the creation of every Magistrate, by reason of the number of Competitors usually happened, which disorders not understanding how otherwise to prevent, made them make choice of this way, not foreseeing the defects that lay hid under such slender conveniencies. It was now the year 1325, and *Castruccio* having possessed himself of *Pistoia*, grew so potent that the *Florentines* fearful of his greatness, resolved before he was well settled in the Dominion of it, to assault it and rescue it out of his clutches. And among their Citizens and Friends, they levied twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and with this Army they encamped against *Altopascio*, that by taking that, they might cut off all relief from *Pistoia*, the *Florentines* were successful in taking this Town, and from thence proceeded towards *Lucca*, wasting the Country; but by reason of imprudent management and infidelity in their General, they made

* The word signifies a-joyning or coupling together.

1325.

The *Florentines* determine to assault *Pistoia*.

little

little progress: Their present General was *Raimond* of *Cardona*, who having observed the *Florentines* very liberal of their liberty, sometimes having yielded it to the King, sometimes to the Legat, and sometimes to men of meaner quality, he thought by reducing them to some necessity, it might probably happen that they might make him Prince: Nor did he forget to put them often in mind to grant him the same authority in the City, that he had in the Field, alledging that otherwise, he could never have that obedience, which was requisite for a General. And because the *Florentines* consented not in this, he let slip those opportunities, which *Castruccio* laid hold of, for in the mean time those aids promised by the *Visconti*, and the other Tyrants of *Lombardy* arrived; and now grown potent: *Raimond*, who before for want of fidelity could not overcome, now for want of prudence knew not how to secure himself, but moving slowly with his Army, was by *Castruccio* near *Altopascio* assaulted, and after a bloody battel totally routed, where many Citizens were taken and slain, and among them *Messer Raimond* himself; on whom Fortune justly inflicted this punishment, which his falshood and evil counsels had deserved from the *Florentines*. The damage *Castruccio* did the *Florentines* in plunder, prisoners, ruines and burnings can hardly be related, for without any opposition, he for several months over-run their

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Coun-

Country; and for the *Florentines* it seem'd enough after such a loss to save their City; yet were they not so cow-hearted, but they made great provision of money, hired Soldiers, and sent to their friends for aid, but against such an enemy no provision was sufficient: They were therefore constrained to chuse *Charles Duke of Calabria*, Son of King *Robert* their Lord, if they would have him come to their defence, for that Family being used to Lord it over *Florence*, chose rather their obedience than their friendship: but *Charles* being engaged in the war of *Sicily*, and not at leisure to come and take possession of his Lordship, sent *Walter*, by Nation a Frenchman, and Duke of *Athens*. He as Lievtenant to the Lord took possession of the City, and ordained Magistrates at his will and pleasure; yet was his deportment so modest, and in a manner contrary to his Nature, that every one loved him. *Charles* as soon as the Sicilian Wars were ended, with a thousand horse comes to *Florence*, where he made his entrance in July 1326, whose presence put a stop to *Castruccio's* inroads into the *Florentine* Country, or at least awed him so, that he could not make them so freely: but whatever reputation he gained abroad, he lost within, and those injuries and damages, their enemies were stopt from doing, their friends did at home, for the *Signiory* now acted nothing without the Dukes consent, and he raised four hundred thousand Flo-

Charles Duke of Calabria chosen Lord of Florence.

rins

rins upon the City, notwithstanding by agreement, he was not to exceed two hundred thousand. So heavy were the loads wherewith he or his Father daily oppressed the City. And to these grievances new jealousies and fresh enemies were joyned; for the *Ghibellines* of *Lombardy* were so alarm'd at the coming of *Charles* into *Tuscany*, that *Galeazzo Visconti*, and the other Tyrants of *Lombardy*, with money and promises prevailed with *Lewis Duke of Baviera*, who against the Popes will had been created Emperour, to make an expedition into *Italy*. He comes into *Lombardy*, and from thence into *Italy*, and with *Castruccio's* aid makes himself Lord of *Pisa*, where refreshed with money, he marches towards *Rome*, which made *Charles* haste from *Florence*, (being in fear for the Kingdom) and leave *Messer Philip de Sagginetto* his Lieutenant. *Castruccio* after the Emperours departure makes himself Lord of *Pisa*, and the *Florentines* by a cunning plot and contrivance took from him *Pistoia*. Which presently *Castruccio* sits down before and besieges, where he kept his ground with so much valour and obstinacy, that though the *Florentines* made many attempts to relieve it, and oft-times with their Army made show of making inroads into his own Country, to draw him off thence, yet they could never, either by force or cunning make him raise his siege, so eagerly he desired to chastise the *Pistoians*,

Lewis Duke of Baviera Emperour marches into Italy.

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and

Castruccio
retakes *Pistoia*,

And dyes.

Charles of
Calabria
dyes at *Naples*.

and baffle the *Florentines*; so that at last the *Pistoians* were constrained to accept him for their Lord: which though it was a great addition to his glory, yet was dearly purchased, for at his return to *Lucca* he dyed. And because *Fortune* rarely gives either good or evil singly, *Charles Duke of Calabria*, and Lord of *Florence* dyed about the same time at *Naples*. So that the *Florentines* beyond their expectation were in one instant delivered from the fear of the one, and Tyranny of the other; who having thus recovered their freedom, reformed the City, and vacating all the Orders of counsels, created two new, one of three hundred Citizens, Commoners, and the other of two hundred and forty Nobles and people mixed, the first of which they called the Council of the people, and the other the Common-council. The Emperour at his arrival at *Rome*, created an Anti-pope, and enacted many things against the Church and attempted many others unsuccessfully. So that at last he went thence with disgrace, and comes to *Pisa*, where either some other way affronted, or for want of pay eight hundred Germane Horse revolted, and on *Monte Chiaro* upon the *Ceruglio* strengthened themselves; these as soon as the Emperour was gone from *Pisa* towards *Lombardy*, surprized *Lucca*, driving out *Francis Castracani*, left there by the Emperour; and hoping to make some advantage of this leisure, they offered that City to the *Florentines*.

Lucca offered to the *Florentines* for twenty thousand *Florins*.

rentines for twenty thousand *Florins*, which by the advice of *Simon della Tosa* was refused, and it had been well for the City, had the *Florentines* been constant in their determination, but as they soon after varied their minds proved very hurtful; for, as now for so small a price they might have been peaceably possessed of it, and would not, afterwards when they would have had it, they could not, though they would have bought it at a much vaster rate; but it happened in this as in their change of Government, which the *Florentines* often altered to infinite damage. *Lucca* thus refused by the *Florentines*, was bought by *Gerardine Spinola* a *Genouese*, for thirty thousand *Florins*. And because men are less eager, after what they may have then what they cannot obtain, as soon as ever they heard of *Gerardine's* bargain, and considered at how easie a rate he had it; the whole people of *Florence* were enflamed with a mighty desire of having it, condemning both themselves, and them that had discouraged them from buying it. And to gain by force what they would not purchase with money, they sent their forces to prey upon and spoil the *Lucchese* Territories. The Emperour in the interim was gone out of *Italy*, and the Anti-pope, by order of the *Pisans* sent prisoner into *France*. And the *Florentines* after the death of *Castruccio*, which happened in 1328, till 1340 were quiet within, and only attended their affairs abroad, and in

Lucca bought by *Gerrardino Spinola*.

Florence
adorned
with new
Buildings.

1334.

A great
flood in Flo-
rence.

New occasi-
ons of diffe-
rence.

Lombardy, by reason of the coming of *John* King of *Bohemia*, & in *Tuscany* upon account of *Lucca* they had many Wars. They likewise adorned their City with new buildings, erecting the Tower of *Santa Reparata*, by the advice of *Giotto*, a famous painter in those times, and in the year 1334 happened an extraordinary over-flowing of the River *Arno*, infomuch, that in some places of *Florence* the Waters rose above twelve yards, whereby part of the Bridges, and many Buildings were ruined, which with great charge and industry, they strove to repair. But in the year 1340 new occasions of difference happened. The richest of the Citizens had two ways to increase and maintain their power. The one was by ordering in such manner, the imbursements of Magistrates, that it should always light upon them, or some of their friends; the other to be Chiefs in the Elections, that they might be afterwards in their judgements favourable to them. And so highly did they esteem this second part, that two Rectors or Governours not sufficing them, they many times for their own ends brought in a third; and now they had in an extraordinary manner brought in under the title of Captain of the Guard *Messer James Gabriel* of *Agobbio*, and given him all manner of Authority over the City. This man in compliance with those that governed; did multiply injuries, and among others affronted *Messer Pietro* de

de Bardo, and *Messer Bardo Frescobaldi*. These being of the Nobility and Naturally proud, could not put up an affront from a stranger, who was in the wrong, and who only in compliance of a few people that governed had abused them, wherefore to revenge themselves, both of him and the present Governours, they formed a conspiracy, in which many Noble Families, and some of the people joyned, displeased with the Tyranny of those sat now at the Helm. They had designed among themselves, that every one of them should assemble as many armed men as they could in their houses, and at the time of Mattins on *All-Souls* day, when the people were dispersed in the several Churches to pray for their dead, fall on, kill the Captain, and the heads of the Government: and so with new Lords and new Orders reform the State. But because in perilous attempts, the longer they are debated on the more difficulties appear, and consequently they are the more unwillingly undertaken: it generally happens in conspiracies delay of execution begets a discovery. Thus *Andrea Bardi* being one of the Conspirators, fear of punishment happened to have more power over him than hopes of revenge, whereupon he discovered all to *James Alberti* his kinsman; *James* to the Priors, and they to the Governours; and because the danger was nigh (*All-Souls* day being at hand) they judged it hazardous to delay, but advised

A plot a-
gainst the
State.

vised the Lords to ring out the Bell, and summon the people to Arms. *Taldo Valori* was Standard-bearer; and *Francisco Salviati* one of the Lords: These being of the *Bardi's* relations withstood the ringing out of the Bell, alleading it was not convenient on every slight occasion to Arm the people, because the Authority of the unbridled multitude never did well; and that Tumults were easily raised, but hardly quelled. And therefore it were more judicious first to examine the truth of the matter, and civilly punish the offenders, than adventure their Chastisements tumultously, and upon a single relation, hazard the ruine of *Florence*. Which reasons were so far from being allowed of, that with villanous and reproachful words, the Lords were forced to make the Bell be rung out. At the sound of which all the people gathered in Arms to the *Piazza*. And on the other side the *Bardi* and *Frescobaldi*, seeing themselves discovered, that they might overcome with glory, or dye without shame, betook themselves to Arms, hoping to defend that part of the City on the farther side of the River, where their houses stood relying on the help they hoped to receive from the Nobles in the Country, and other their friends: But this their design was prevented by the people, which inhabited that part of the City, who took Arms for the Lords. Whereupon seeing this interposition, they retreated into the Street, where the *Bardi* dwelt

dwelt as stronger than any of the rest, and that they vigorously defended: *James* of *Agobbio* knowing all this conspiracy made against him, fearful of death, in fright and amazement kept himself in the midst of his armed men, near the palace of the Lords; but the other Governours who were less faulty had more courage, and especially the *Podesta*, or Mayor, who was called *Messer Maffeo da Mazzadi*. This brave Gentleman coming into the hottest of the skirmish, on the other side the bridge *Rubaconte*, and entring amidst the swords of the *Bardi*, made a sign to parley with them; and the reverence they bore to the person of the man, to his good manners, and other excellent qualities, made them in an instant forbear fighting, and quietly listen to him, who with grave and modest words blamed their Rebellion, and shewed them the danger in which they were, if they yielded not to the force of the people, giving them hopes that they should afterwards be heard, and favourably judged, and promising to be a mediator for compassion to their so reasonable provocation: and then turning to the Lords perswaded them that they would not strive to overcome with the blood of their own Citizens, nor judge any unheard. And so far he prevailed that the *Bardi* and *Frescobaldi* without any opposition left the City, and retired to their own Castles; they gone, and the people having laid down their Arms, the Lords proceeded only against

The Rebels
favourably
cited by
means of the
Podesta.

Yet some of
them made
Example.
Severe Laws
made.

The Com-
mons incense
the Nobles
to their da-
mage.

Mastino
Lord of Ve-
rons gets
Lucca.

gainst those of the Families of the *Bardi* and *Frescobaldi*, that had taken Arms, and to develt them of all power, they bought from the *Bardi* the Castles of *Mangona* and *Verina*, and by a Law enacted that no Citizen should possess any Castle within twenty miles of *Florence*: some months after *Stiato Frescobaldi* was beheaded, and many others declared Rebels; nor were those who governed content to have overcome the *Bardi* and *Frescobaldi*, but as all men usually do, the more authority they have the worse they use it, and the more insolent they grow, whereas before one Captain of the Guard afflicted *Florence* within, now they chose another with unlimited authority to torment the Countrey without, so that none they were jealous of, could inhabit either in *Florence* or abroad; which so much incensed all the Nobles against them, that they were even ready to sell the City and themselves for revenge, and waiting only for an opportunity; it happened well, and they used it better. By reason of the many troubles of *Tuscany*, and *Lombardy*, the City of *Lucca* was fallen into the hands of *Mastino della Scala* Lord of *Verona*, who (though by contract he was to consign it to the *Florentines*) yet being Lord of *Parma*, and judging himself able to keep it, he had not done it, but slighted his word, and broke his Faith; whereupon the *Florentines* to revenge themselves, joined with the *Venetians*, and reduced him to

to the very point of losing his whole estate, yet all the advantage *Florence* got in the end, was the satisfaction of having recovered *Mastino*: for the *Venetians* (as all that allye themselves with the weaker do) after having gained *Trevigi* and *Vicenza* (without any respect to the *Florentines*) made peace: but sometimes after the *Visconti* Lords of *Milan* having taken *Parma* from *Mastino*, he thinking now he could no longer hold *Lucca*, offered it to sale; the *Florentines* and the *Pisans* were the chapmen bid for it, but in driving the bargain, the *Pisans* seeing that the *Florentines* as the richer would carry it, applyed themselves to get it by force, and with the aid of the *Visconti* took the Field; the *Florentines* however drew not back, but compleated their purchase with *Mastino*, paid part of the money down, and for the rest gave Hostages, and went to take possession: *Naddo Ruciellai*, *John Bernardine de Medici* and *Rosso di Ricciardo* were sent, who entring *Lucca* by force, had the possession delivered them by *Mastino's* people; yet the *Pisans* pursued their enterprize, and with all imaginable industry sought to gain it by force, and the *Florentines* to raise the siege: and after a tedious war the *Florentines* with the expence of money, and purchase of shame were driven out, and the *Pisans* became Lords of *Lucca*. The loss of this City (as in such cases it always happens) made the people of *Florence* mad at their Governours, and in all places

The Floren-
tines buy
Lucca of
Mastino.

The Floren-
tines beaten
out by the
Pisans.

places and publick meetings they rail'd at them, villifying their Authority and evil Councils. At the beginning of this war, the administration of the war was given to twenty Citizens, who made choice of Mr. *Rimini di Malatesta* for General of the expedition; who with little courage and less prudence had managed it, and because they had sent to Robert King of Naples for aid, that King had sent them *Walter Duke of Athens*, who by the will of Heaven that was preparing the ensuing misfortunes, arrived in *Florence*, just in the time that *Lucca* was utterly lost: whereupon the twenty seeing the people enraged, bethought themselves of electing a new General; imagining by such election both to revive their hopes, and to bridle or take away the occasion of their calumniating them: and since all cause of fear was not yet past, and that the Duke of *Athens* could with more Authority defend them, they first chose him Conservator; and afterwards Captain General of their Armies. The Nobles who for the reasons abovementioned, lived in discontent, being many of them well acquainted with *Walter* (when formerly in the name of *Charles of Calabria*, he governed *Florence*) thought now the time come, that they might with the ruine of the peoples liberty quench the fire in their own houses, believing they had no other way to tame the people that had oppressed them, but by submitting themselves under a Prince

Walter Duke of Athens sent again to Florence.

The Nobles encourage him to make himself Prince.

Prince, who sensible of the virtues of one party, and the insolencies of the other, would bridle this, and cherish that: adding to this the hopes of what they should deserve from him, when by their means he had obtained the principality: they had therefore many private meetings with him, perswading him to take the Government upon him, and offering him their utmost assistance; and to the Authority and encouragements they gave him, some Families of the Commons, joined theirs, as the *Peruzzi*, *Acciavoli*, *Antellesi* and *Bonacorsi*, who owing more than of themselves they were able to pay, were covetous of other mens goods to discharge their debts, and by enslaving their Countrey, thought to free themselves from the slavery of their Creditors. These perswasions stirred up the ambitious mind of the Duke to a greater desire of Rule, and to gain himself the reputation of being just and severe, and by that means win favour among the people, he prosecuted the mannagers of the *Lucchese* war, and *John de Medici* and *Naddo Rucellai*, and *William Altoviti* he put to death, and many he banished, and more he fined. These Executions extremely affrighted the middle sort of Citizens, only the Nobles and Plebeians were pleased at them, these because it is their nature to rejoice at mischief, those because they saw themselves in a way of revenging so many injuries the people had done them: and even as he passed

The managers of the *Lucchese* War punished.

fed the streets, they with loud voices praised the Frankness and Generosity of his mind; and publickly encouraged him to examine and punish the frauds of the Citizens. The Authority of the twenty thus came to nothing; and the reputation of the Duke augmented, and the awe of him increased; and many to honour him, caused his Arms to be painted upon their houses, nor wanted he any thing of Prince but the Title: and now thinking he might securely do what he list, he sent to let the Senators know, that he judged it for the good of the City, that they should leave the Government freely and absolutely to him, and (since the whole City were wellpleased with it) he desired their consent likewise: the Senators (though they had long before foreseen the ruine of their Countrey) were much alarmed at this demand, and though they knew their danger, yet not to be wanting to their Countrey resolutely denied it. The Duke had to make the greater show of Piety and Devotion, chosen for his residence the Convent of the Friars Minors of the Holy Cross, and desirous to bring his malignant designs to effect, he caused Proclamation to be made, That all the people should appear before him in the Piazza of the Holy Cross, on the morning following. This Proclamation startled the Senators more than his Demands had done, and they got together with those Citizens, whom they judged lovers of their Countrey, and of Liberty,

Liberty, not daring (as knowing too well the Dukes power) to apply any other remedy than prayer and perswasion, and determining to try, since their Force was insufficient, if entreaties could make him desist from the attempt, or at least make his Tyranny the easier; whereupon part of the Lords went to him, and one of them spake after this manner. *We come hither, Great Sir, to you, moved first by your Demand, and since by the Proclamation you have made to assemble the people: for it is apparent to us, that you would in an extraordinary manner assume that which by ordinary ways we cannot grant you; nor is it our intention with any Force to oppose your Designs, but only to demonstrate how heavy the load is, you lay upon us, and how perilous the action you undertake; that you may at all times remember our Counsels, as well as theirs, who not for your advantage, but to wreak their own malice have advised you to this. You attempt to enslave a City, that has always lived free; for the Authority we have formerly granted to the Royal Blood of Naples, was as Companions, not as Servants. Have you considered of what influence and importance the very name of Liberty is in this City? which no power can tame, no time consume, nor no merit counterpoise: Do but think Sir, what Forces are necessary to keep in bondage such a City; those strangers you have entertained will not suffice, those within, you cannot rely upon, for they who are now your Friends, and have advised you to,*

The Address
of the Lords
to the Duke
of Athens
to dissuade
him from
the Tyranny

this attempt, when with your Authority they have quelled their enemies, will seek your Destruction, that they may make themselves Princes. The Plebeians in whom you confide, will upon the least accident that can befall, revolt from you, so that you may reasonably fear in a short time to have the whole City your enemies, to the ruine both of it and your self: nor is there in nature any remedy to prevent this; for those Lords may make their Dominion secure, who having but few enemies, can with death or banishment root them out, but where the hatred is universal, no security can be found, for you not knowing whence the evil will arise, he that fears every man, can assure himself of none, or if you try to do it, you but aggravate the danger, for those which remain (more enflamed with hate and anger) will be more ready for revenge: that time is not able with its Iron teeth to devour the desire of Liberty is most certain, for it has often been known to have been reassumed in a City that had never themselves tasted it, but had only a memory kept alive how their Fathers loved it, and once recovered, they have preserved it with all obstinacy and hazard, and had they not been put in mind of it by their Ancestors, the publick Palaces, the Seats of the Magistracy, and the Badges of the free Orders would have recalled to memory, things which with all earnestness of desire must needs be again wished for by all Citizens. What can you pretend your Alliance shall be, to counterpoise the sweetness of Liberty, or to extinguish in men a desire of returning

ing to their former freedom? the adding all Tuscany to this Dominion would not do it: no! though you should every day return triumphant over our enemies, for the Glory of all this would not accrue to us, but to you: and though your manners were holy, your deportment kind, and your judgment just, yet would not all these be sufficient to install you in the peoples love; nay if you think they could free you from their hate, you would be deceived, for to him that is accustomed to live unbound, Fetters of Gold are heavy, and Silken Cords pinch; besides, for a good Prince violently to detain a Government, is impossible, for it becomes a necessity that he either grow violent too, or that one or both run to ruine: You must therefore resolve either with an extremity of violence to keep in awe this City (which, Cittadels, Guards, nor Forreign Friends will not be enough to do) or else content your self with that Authority we have given you, to which we exhort you by remembering that that Dominion only is durable, which is voluntary, and do not (blinded by a little Ambition) be hurried into that Precipice, where not being able either to stand or climb higher, you must needs to your own, and our great damage fall. These words did not at all move the obdurate heart of the Duke, who told them that it was not his intention to take away the Liberty of the City, but restore it, for disunited Cities only were slaves, but united free. That if Florence by his means were delivered from Ambition, Parties and

F f 2 Factions,

The Duke
not moved
with the
Lords
speeches.

Factions, he should not take any away, but give it new freedom, that not of his own ambition, but the intercession of many Citizens led him to this attempt, and therefore they would do well to content themselves with what others consented to: as for the dangers which he might possibly encounter he contemned them, for it was the part of a dishonest man to leave doing good for fear of evil, and of a coward to give over a glorious enterprise, because the event was doubtful; but he hoped to carry himself so, that they in a short time should believe they had trusted him too little, and feared him too much: whereupon the Lords agreed, (seeing they could do no other ways) that the morning following the people should assemble in the place before their Palace, by whose Authority they would give the Duke the Government for one year, with the same conditions were once given to *Charles Duke of Calabria*. It was the eighth day of *September*, and in the year 1342, that the Duke accompanied by *Messer John de Tosa*, and all his consorts, and many other Citizens went to the place, and together with the Lords went up to the *Ringhiera* (so they call the platform at the foot of the Palace of the Lords) where they read to the people the agreements made between him and the Senators; but when they came to the reading of that passage, that for one year they gave him the Government, the people cried out again, *For Life*

1342.
The Duke
of Athens
made Lord
of Florence.

Life, for Life; and *Francisco Rusticbegli* one of the Senate rising to speak, and mitigate the tumult, his words were drowned with the out-cries of the people, so that by the peoples consent not only for a year, but for ever, he was chosen Lord, and taken and carried through the multitude, who echoed out his name through the whole City. It is customary that he who has the Guard of the Palace should in the absence of the Senators be lock'd within it, and *Riveri de Gotto* now had that charge, he corrupted by the Dukes Friends, without any violence offered, let him in, and the Senators daunted and dismayed, returned to their houses, and their Palace was by the Dukes Family sack'd, the Standard of the people torn in piece, and his Arms let fly upon the Palaces, which was look'd upon with extreme vexation and grief by all good men, but with great delight by those who either through ignorance or malice had consented to it. The Duke thus possessed of the Government, to take away all Authority from those who had used to be defenders of Liberty, prohibited the Lords from meeting in the Palace, and assigned them a private house, took away the Standards from the *Gonfalonieres* of the Companies of the people, annulled the orders of Justice against the Nobles, set all prisoners free, recalled the *Bardi* and *Frescobaldi* from Banishment, and forbid any one carrying Arms: and the better to defend himself from those within,

The Duke
makes new
Institutions,
and annuls
old ones.

made friends of those without: Highly obliged the *Aretines*, and all other Towns subject to *Florence*, made peace with the *Pisans*, though he was made Prince to continue the war with them. Took the assignments from those Merchants, who in the war of *Lucca* had lent the Commonwealth money: Increased the old Taxes, and imposed new, deprived the Lords of all their Authority, and his chief Rectors or Ministers were *Messer Baglione* of *Perugia*, *Messer William* of *Scesi*, from whom, and *Messer Cerettieri Bisdomini*, he took counsel. The Taxes he had laid upon the Citizens were heavy, and his judgements unjust, and all that uprightness and humanity he had feigned, was turned into cruelty and pride; and that he might not govern better without than within, he constituted six Rectors or Governours over the Country, who rob'd, spoil'd and oppressed, the Country people. He grew jealous of the Nobles, though they had been so assistant to him, and that he had restored many of them to their Country, for he could not imagine that generous souls, who used to live as a free Nobility, could be content to obey him. He therefore addicted himself to oblige the *Plebeians*, hoping by their favour and foreign force to maintain his Tyranny. And when the Month of *May* was come, in which the people used to feast, he formed several Companies of the *Plebeians*, and meanest of the people, of whom

one

one part went feasting throughout the City, and the other with great pomp received the Feasters. As soon as the Fame of his new Lordship was spread abroad, many of the *French* Nation addressed themselves to him, to all which he gave employs as the people, he had the most confidence in: So that *Florence* in a short time became not only subject to the *French*, but even to their Habits and Customs: for the Men and Women, without any respect to civility or shame, followed their Fashions; but that which fretted mens minds most of all, were the violences offered by him and his, to women. Thus then the Citizens lived full of inward indignation, seeing the Majesty of the State ruined, it's Orders destroyed, it's Laws annulled, and all honest conversation corrupted, all civil modesty extinguished; for those who used never to see any Regal Pomp, could not but with grief behold themselves in every street, encompassed with Guards of Horse and Foot; and that which made their grief and shame more poignant, was that they were to honour him, whom they above all the world hated: To which fear and terror was added, seeing the frequent Executions and continual Taxes, wherewith he consumed and impoverished the City, which fear and indignation of the people were well known and dreaded by the Duke, yet he made no show, but seemed still to believe himself beloved: Whence it happened that *Matthew Morozzo*,

either to gratifie him, or free or rescue himself from the danger, having discovered how the Family of the *Medici*, and some others had conspired against him. The Duke not only forbore making any inquisition into the matter; but put the informer to a miserable death: by which act he discouraged those that would have given him advice how to secure himself, and created intelligence to those who sought his ruine. He likewise caused *Bettini Cini's* tongue to be cut out, and that with so much cruelty that he dyed of it, only for railing at the Taxes he had imposed on the people, which barbarisms begot heart-burnings in the Citizens, and extrem hatred of the Duke: for that City which had lived under a Custom of doing and saying any thing they pleased, could not endure to have their hands bound, and their mouths stoppt. In short, these disgusts and animosities grew to that height, that not the *Florentines* only (who neither know how to be free, and yet cannot endure to serve) but the most servile Nation in the world would have hazarded all, to have regained their freedom; and thereupon many Citizens of all qualities, resolved either to recover their Liberty, or lose their lives. And in three parts by three sorts of Citizens, three conspiracies were formed, to wit, of the Nobles, Merchants and Mechanics, moved (besides the universal and general cause) from the Nobles thinking they had not advanced the State, nor themselves in

Three Conspiracies at once against the Duke.

in it: The Merchants that they had lost it, and the Artificers that they wanted trading. *Messer Agnolo Acciaivolo* was now Arch-bishop of *Florence*, who in all his Sermons had magnified the Dukes actions, and made him gracious in the eyes of the people. But now since he saw him Lord, and beheld his Tyrannies, he was conscious to himself of being a betrayer of his Country. And to gain absolution for that fault, he believed the best remedy was, that the hand which had made the wound should heal it; and of the chief and strongest conspiracy, became himself the Head: In which were the *Bardi*, *Rossi*, *Frescobaldi*, *Scali*, *Altoviti*, *Magolotti*, *Strozzi*, and *Mancini*; of the second were Chiefs *Messer Manno*, and *Corso Donati*, and with them the *Pazzi*, *Caviciulli*, *Cerchi* and *Albizzi*: Of the third was Head *Antonio Adimari*, and with him the *Medici*, *Bordini*, *Rucellai*, and *Aldobrandini*. These last thought to have slain him near the Palace of the *Albizzi*, where, as it was imagined he was to come and see a Horse-race: But he not going thither, that failed; they determined then to assault him as he passed about the City: But this was found difficult, because he always went well guarded and armed, and every day changed his walk, so that it was impossible to lye in ambush for him in any certain place: They consulted also to kill him in Council, but 'twas then considered, that though they should effect it,

it, the conspirators must remain at the discretion of his Guards. Whilst these things were debated amongst the conspirators, *Antonio Adimari* discovered the whole matter to some of his Friends at *Siena* (hoping to gain some aid from thence) openly declaring to them that part of the conspirators, and assuring them the whole City was disposed to regain their lost Liberty. Whereupon one of them disclosed the matter to *Francisco Brunelleschi*, not out of intention to discover it, but out of a belief that he was likewise of the plot. *Brunelleschi* terrified for himself, and hating the others, told all to the Duke; whereupon *Pagolo de Mazzechi*, and *Simon de Monte reppoli* were taken; who confessing the quantity and quality of the Conspirators, affrighted the Duke, and he was advised that he should rather send for them friendly than arrest them; for if they fled, he might without any scandal or dishonour secure himself by their banishment. The Duke therefore sent for *Antonio Adimari*, who confident of his companions immediately appeared; and he being detained, the Duke was by *Messèr Francisco Brunelleschi*, and *Messèr Uguccione, Buondelmonte* advised that he should with his Soldiers scour the streets, and whoever he took put to death; but this way he could not approve of, judging his Forces too few for such an adventure, he pitcht therefore on another, which if it succeeded, made him secure of his

The plot
discovered.

his enemies, and strengthened his own power. The Duke had made it a Custom, when any matter of weight occurred to send for the Citizens, and ask their advice. Having therefore now first sent out to get forces in readiness, he makes a list of three hundred Citizens, and sends out his Serjeants to warn them in under pretence of advising with them; designing when he had once got them in his clutches, either to put them to death, or closely imprison them. The detainour of *Anthony Adimari*, and the drawing together of his forces, which could not be kept secret, so startled the Citizens, especially the guilty, that the boldest of them denyed to appear. And because every one had read the list, they went to seek each other out, heartning themselves up rather to dye like men with Arms in their hands, then be led like Sheep to the slaughter: so that in few hours every party of the Conspirators had discovered their intentions one to the other, and determined the day following, which was the 26 of July 1343, to raise a Tumult in the old Market, and thereupon taking arms, call out the people to Liberty. And accordingly the next day at nine a clock, the time appointed, they all took Arms, and the people likewise at the cry of Liberty armed themselves, and each party fortified themselves in their own Streets under Banners, with the peoples Arms in them, which the Conspirators, had caused privily to be made: All

1343.

All the Heads of the Families, as well Nobles as people met and swore to their own defence, and the death of the Duke (except only some of the *Buondelmonti* and *Cavalcanti*, and those four Families of the Commons, that had consented to make him Lord, who together with the *Beccai*, and the Rabble of the people, ran armed into the *Piazza* to defend the Duke.) Upon this rumour the Duke fortifies the Palace, and his men that were lodged in divers parts came out mounted on Horse-back, to get into the *Piazza*, and in several places, were met with, fought and slain; yet about three hundred Horse got thither. The Duke was in doubt whether he should sally out and fight his enemies, or defend himself in the Palace. On the other side, the *Medici Cavicciulli Ruccellai*, and other Families, which had been most oppressed by him, doubting lest if he should issue out, many that had taken Arms against him would revolt, and prove his friends, resolving to deprive him of that opportunity of adding to his power, made head and assaulted the Palace: Upon their advancing, those Families of the Commons, which had sided with the Duke, seeing him thus briskly assaulted, changed their minds, since the Duke had changed his fortune, and all joyned with the Citizens, save only *Ugucione Buondelmonte*, who went to the Palace, and *John Cavalcanti*, who retreating with some of his consorts into the New Market

Market, leaping upon a stall, intreated the people, who passed armed by towards the *Piazza*, that they would undertake the defence of the Duke, and to frighten them, he boasted his own power, and threatned them all with death, if they continued obstinate to oppose their Lord; but finding he neither could get any of them to follow him, nor that any of them took notice of his insolence to chastise it; seeing his labour in vain, he would no longer tempt Fortune, but retired to his own house. Mean while the Bickering in the great place, between the forces of the Duke and the people was hot; and though the Palace gave all the aid it could to the Dukes party, they were overcome, and some of them submitted to their enemies, and others, leaving their Horses in the Palace fled. Whilst they thus fought in the *Piazza*: *Corso*, and *Amerigho Donati* of the peoples side, broke open the *Stinche*, burnt the Mayors Recods, and those of the publick Chamber, sack'd the houses of the Rectors or Governours, and all those Ministers of the Dukes they could light on they slew. Mean while the Duke seeing he had lost the *Piazza*, had all the City his enemies, and no hopes of help attempted by an act of kindness to gain the people: And sending for the Prisoners, with sweet and obliging words he released them, making *Antonio Adimari* (though much against his will) Knight, he caused his Arms to be taken down from the Palace, and put up

The Citizens take order to new model the State.

up those of the people: Which things being done too late, and out of due order, as forced and done by constraint stood him in little stead; for he had still the discontent to behold himself close besieged in the Palace, and to consider that by grasping too much he had lost all, and must in few days dye either by Famine or the Sword. The Citizens to give form again to their State, retired to *Santa Reparata*, and created sixteen Citizens, one half of the Nobles, the other of the People, who together with the Archbishop had all manner of Authority given them to new Model the State, they likewise chose six to execute the office of *Potestà* or Mayor till one should be chosen. There were come into *Florence* to aid the people many from other parts, among which were divers from *Siena* with six Ambassadors, men much honoured in their Country. These mediated some agreement between the Duke and People. But the people refused all manner of accord, unless first they had delivered up into their hands *Messer William Scesi*, and his Son, together with *Messer Ceretieri Bisdomini*. To this the Duke would not consent; but at length threatened by the people besieged with him, he yielded. Certainly the spite appears greater, and the wounds are more ghastly that are made by a people, recovering their Liberty, than by those defending it. *Messer William* and his Son, were delivered as a prey to thousands of their enemies,

his

his Son not yet eighteen years of age; yet could neither his youth, beauty, nor innocence save him from the fury of the multitude; they fell upon them both, and those who could not wound them living, wounded them dead; nor was their cruelty satisfied with hewing them in pieces with their swords, but they tore them with their hands and teeth; and that all their senses might bear a part in their revenge, having first heard their groans, seen their wounds, touched their torn limbs; they would likewise have their taste gratified, that their outward parts being before satisfied, their stomachs might be satiated likewise: but if this outrageous madness made them exceed all bounds of cruelty to those two poor Gentlemen: It was kind to *Messer Ceretieri*, for the multitude tyred with executing their bloody rage upon those two, quite forgot him, who no more ask'd for, stayed still in the Palace, and at night was by some of his Friends and Kinsmen conveyed into a place of safety. The people having wreakt their revenge in the blood of these two, came to this agreement, That the Duke with all his people and goods should depart in safety, he renouncing all manner of claim to *Florence*, and that as soon as he was got out of their Dominion, he should at *Casentino* sign the renuntiation. In this manner on the 6th. of *August* he departed from *Florence*, accompanied by many Citizens, and at *Casentino* (though very unwillingly)

The barbarous cruelty of the people.

An accord made.

The Character of the Duke of Athens.

Several Towns of the Florentines rebel.

willingly) he ratified the renuntiation, nor had he kept his word, had not Count Simon threatened to carry him back to Florence. This Duke was (as his Government testifies) covetous and cruel, difficult of access, and proud in his answers, he desired the slavery, not the good will of men, and therefore chose rather to be feared than loved: Nor was indeed his presence less contemptible than his manners, for he was of stature but low, and swarthy of complexion, his beard long and thin; so that every part of him deserved hatred: and in ten months time, his evil customs had driven him from that Government, which the ill counsels of others had raised him too. These accidents happening in the City, gave opportunity to the Towns subject to the Florentines to assume their Liberty, so that Arrezzo, Castiglione, Pistoia, Volterra, Colle, and St. Gimignano rebelled, and the Florentines by recovering their Liberty, taught their subjects to do the like, and with the driving out of the Duke succeeded the loss of their Territories: The sixteen Citizens and the Bishop thought it more convenient to please their subjects by peace, than to make themselves enemies by war, and show'd themselves as well satisfied with their Liberty as with their own: wherefore they sent Ambassadors to Arrezzo, to renounce all command they had over that City, and to make a League with them, that since they could not value themselves upon them

them as subjects, they might do it as friends, with the other Towns they agreed likewise in the best manner they could, striving to keep them their friends, that they being free, might help to maintain their Liberty. This management, as it was prudently devised, so it had happy success: For Arrezzo ere many years past returned under the Florentine government, and the other Towns stood out but few months: Thus many times we the sooner, and with less charge and expence obtain things by seeming to slight them, than by prosecuting them with violence and obstinacy. Things quieted thus abroad, they applyed themselves to settle affairs at home, and after some disputes between the Nobles and people, it was concluded that the Nobles should have one third part in the Signory, and in all other offices one half; the City was, as we have said before, divided into six Parts or Wards, whereupon there were six Lords, one of every Ward chosen, unless upon some accident they chose twelve or thirteen, but soon after they were again reduced to six; yet it was thought fit to regulate the Government in this point, as well because the Wards were not evenly distributed, as because now giving a part to the Nobles, it was convenient to encrease the number of the Lords. Wherefore they divided the City into quarters, and out of each chose three Lords or Senators, they abolished the Gonfaloniere of justice, and those of the Companies of the people, and in the place of the twelve good men, they created Eight Counsellors, four of each degree. This

The Florentine settle affairs at home.

order of Government established, the City might have been quiet, if the Nobles had been content to live with that modesty requisite in civil conversation, but they acted clean contrary, for when private men, they would have no Companions; and when Magistrates, they would be Tyrants, and every day produced some example of their pride and insolency; which mightily disgusted the people, who were grieved to see that for one Tyrant destroyed, a thousand were sprung up. Thus insolency on the one side, and regret on the other daily increasing, the heads of the people represented to the Bishop the haughty deportment of the Nobles, and their scornful carriage towards their fellows in office, and therefore perswaded him to mediate a way that the Nobles might be content with other offices, and leave the Magistracy of the *Signory* to the people only. The Bishop was naturally just, but good natured, easie to be turned to one side or the other, which made him first at the instance of some of that Princes friends favour the Duke of *Athens*, and afterwards by the instigation and advice of some Citizens conspire against him: he had in the reformation of the State favoured the Nobles, and now thought fit to favour the people, moved by the reasons alleadged by those popular Citizens, and thinking to find in others the same unsteadfastness himself was subject to, perswaded to bring the matter to agreement, and summoning the sixteen whose Authority was not yet extinct, in the best manner he could he exhorted them to yield the administration of the *Signory*

nory to the people, promising thereby the quiet of the City, or otherwise its ruine and destruction. This discourse strangely incensed the Nobles, and *Messer Ridolphus de Bardi* with bitter words reproved him, calling him a man of little faith, and reproaching his friendship to the Duke as fickle, and his conspiracy against him as traitorous, concluding that those honors which they had with danger gained, they would, though with danger defend, and departing with the others enraged at the Bishop, he gave account of what had passed to his companions, and to all the Families of the Nobles, the Commons likewise told their minds to the others: and whilst the Nobles were forming forces to defend their Authority, the people thought not fit to stay till they were got in order, but run armed to the Palace, crying out that they would have the Nobles renounce the Magistracy, the tumult and noise was great, and the Lords chosen from among the Nobles saw themselves forsaken; for the Nobles seeing all the people in Arms durst not come out, but every one kept within their houses; so that the popular Lords having first used means to quiet the people, affirming their Colleagues to be good and modest men, not able to prevail upon less terms, they sent them home to their own houses, whither with much ado they were brought with safety: the Nobles thus thrust out of the Palace, they took away the office likewise from the four noble Counsellors, and afterwards made twelve, all of the people; and to the eight Lords that remained, they made a *Gonfaloniere* of Justice, and sixteen Standard-

He is sharply
reproved
by *Ridolpho*
Bardi.

New Dissen-
tion be-
tween Nobl-
ility and
people.

The Bishop
for the Com-
mons.

bearers of the Companies of the people, and in such manner reformed, the Councils that the whole power of Government remained in the arbitrinient of the people. When these things happened there was a great scarcity in the City, so that both the Nobles and the poorer sort of people were at once discontented, these for hunger, those for having lost their Authority; which accident encouraged *Messer Andrea Strozzi* to hope he might usurp over the Liberty of the City: he sold his corn at a much cheaper rate than others, whereupon multitudes flocked to his house, so that he took at last the boldness to mount one morning on horseback, and with some of these behind him to call the people to Arms, and in a little time got together above four thousand men, with which he marched to the Palace of the Lords, and demanded entrance, but the Lords with threats and arms beat him off the place, and by Proclamation so terrified the people, that by little and little every one went home to his own house, leaving *Messer Andrea* alone, who very hardly by flight escaped out of the Magistrates hands. This accident though rash and foolish in it self, yet made the Nobles hope they might one day force the people, since the *Plebeian* rabble were at discord with them, and that they might not lose this occasion they resolved to strengthen themselves with all assistances possible, to regain by reasonable force what by unjust force had been taken from them; and into such a confidence of victory they grew, that they publicly provided Arms, fortified their houses, and sent to their friends in

The foolish Attempt of *Andrea Strozzi*.

The Nobles arm.

Lombardy

Lombardy for aid: The people likewise together with the Lords made their provisions, arming themselves, and demanding assistance from *Scienu* and *Perugia*: and now the friends of either side appeared: the whole City was in arms, the Nobles had on the largest side of the City made head in three places, at the house of the *Caviacciulli*, near *S. Johns*, at the house of the *Pazzi* and *Donati* at great *S. Peters*, and at that of the *Cavalcanti* in the New Market. Those on the other side *Arno*, had fortified themselves on the bridges, and in the streets where their houses stood; the *Nerli* defended the Bridge of *Carraia*, the *Frescobaldi* and *Mannelli* that of the Holy Trinity, the *Rossi* and *Bardi* the old Bridge, and that of *Rubicone*: on the other side the Commons were assembled under the Standard of Justice, and the Banners of the Companies of the people; and things being in this posture, the people thought not fit any longer to defer the scuffle, the first that moved were the *Medici* and *Rondinelli*, who assaulted the *Caviacciulli* at the entrance from *S. Johns* place to their houses, here the skirmish was hot, because from the Towers they were pelted with Stones, and from below wounded with Cross-bows. This Battle lasted three hours, and still the people increased, so that at length the *Caviacciulli* seeing themselves oppressed by multitudes, and no succour coming, grew faint, and yielded themselves to the power of the people, who saved for them their Goods and Houses, only took away their arms, which they divided among such of their Friends and Kindred, among the Commons as were disarmed

And the people also.

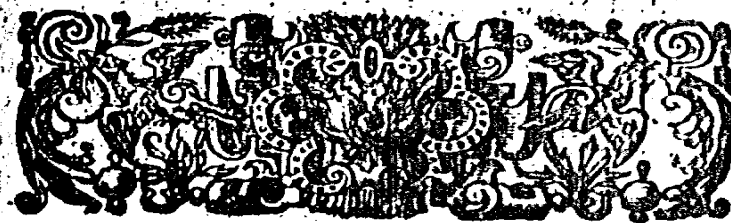
armed: having in the first assault come off Victors, they next fell upon the *Donati* and *Pazzi*, whom they easily overcome, being much weaker than the former, there remained now on that side the river the *Cavalcanti* only, who were very strong both in men and situation, notwithstanding seeing all the Standards march against them (when three of them only had conquered the other) without making any great defence they yielded: now were three parts of the City in the peoples hands, there remained only one in the hands of the Nobles, but that the hardest to come by, as well by reason of the strength of those that defended it, as for its situation, being fenced with the river *Arno*, so that there was no way but forcing the Bridges which were fortified in the manner before described, yet the old Bridge was first stormed, which was gallantly defended, for the Towers were armed, the passages barr'd, and the Turnpikes guarded with stout and courageous men, so that the people with great loss were repulsed, seeing therefore here their labour lost, they next assaulted the Bridge *Rubicone*, but finding the same difficulty, leaving a Guard of four Colours to keep these two Posts, they assaulted the *Carraia*, and though the *Nerli* manfully defend it, they could not sustain the shock of the people, this Bridge (for want of Towers to defend it) being the weakest, and the *Capponi* and other Families of the Commons, assaulting them behind, so that oppressed on every side they forsook their Turnpikes, and gave way to the people, who after this overcame the *Rossi* and *Frescobaldi*

Frescobaldi for now all the people on that side *Arno* joined with the Conquerours, there then remained only the *Bardi*, whom neither the ruine of the rest, nor the uniting of the whole people, nor the small hopes they had of any succour could terrifie, but they chose rather to dye with their Arms in their hands, and see their houses sack'd and burnt, than submit themselves to the discretion of their enemies; and so obstinately defended they themselves, that the people several times attempted in vain to beat them either from the old Bridge, or the *Rubaconte*, but were still with the slaughter, and wounding of many of their men repulsed. There had some time before been a street made, which led from the Roman way by the houses of the *Pitti* to the wall upon *S. Georges* hill, by this way the people sent six Colours with orders to give the assault on the back-side of the *Bardi's* Houses: this made their hearts fail them, and gave the people an intire victory, for when those who had the guard of the Turnpikes heard their houses were assaulted, they abandoned their Posts, and ran to defend them; thus the Turnpike upon the old Bridge was taken, and the *Bardi* put to flight on all sides, who by the *Quaratesi* *Panzamesi* and *Mozzi* were received, but the people (especially the rabble) greedy of prey spoiled and sacked their houses, and pulled down, and burnt their Palaces with so much dissempered rage & madness, that the most despiteful enemy of the *Florentine* name, would have blush'd to have made such ruines. The Nobles thus overcome, the people reformed their State, and

The people
gain absolute
victory

and because there were three degrees of people, the rich, the middle sort and the Plebeians; they ordained, that the richest Rank of Citizens should have two chosen to sit in the Signory, the middle sort three, and the poor the like, and the *Gonfaloniere* was sometimes of one, and sometimes of the other, besides all the Laws against the Nobles were re-enacted, and to weaken them the more, many of them were ranked and mixed among the people. This ruine of the Nobles was so great and so depressed their party, that never afterwards durst they take Arms against the people, but lived ever after more humble and submissive; by which means *Florence* grew vile and abject, losing both its reputation in matter of Arms, and all Generosity of manners. The City after this blow lived in quiet till the year 1543, in the course of which time happened that memorable Pestilence, which *John Boccassè* has described with so much Eloquence, and in which *Florence* lost ninety six thousand souls. The *Florentines* likewise made the first war with the *Visconti* occasioned by the Ambition of the Arch-Bishop, then Prince of *Milan*: and though the Nobility was destroyed, yet Fortune failed not by new divisions, to create new troubles.

THE



THE FLORENTINE HISTORY:

Written by

Nicholas Machiavel,
Citizen and Secretary of *Florence.*

The Third Book.



THE natural and implacable Enmities between the Nobles and Common people, occasioned by the desire those have to Command, and the regret these have to Obey, are the only Fountains from which all the Miseries which besal a City flow. For, from this contradiction of Humours, all other disturbances in a Commonwealth

wealth take their source and stream: This divided *Rome*, and this (if it may be permitted to compare great things with small) has kept *Florence* in division; albeit in either of those Cities divers effects were produced. For the quarrels which first happened in *Rome*, between the Common people and the Nobles, were decided with Words, but those in *Florence* with Swords. Those of *Rome* were determined by a Law; but those of *Florence* with the slaughter and banishment of many of the Citizens. The *Romans* still rise and advanced in Military virtue; but the *Florentines* quite ruin'd it. The *Romans* from an Equality among their Citizens, reduced them to degrees of great Disequality; those of *Florence* from a great Disequality, to a strange and monstrous Equality. Which diversity of effects must of necessity, have been produced from the different ends those people proposed to themselves: for the people of *Rome* only desired to enjoy the Supreme honours together with the Nobles; The *Florentines* on the contrary, fought to have the Government in their hands only, without admitting the Nobles to any share. And, because the desires of the people of *Rome* were more reasonable, the offences of the Nobles became more supportable, and that Nobility, without coming to Extremities, complied so, that after any disagreement it was but making a Law to satisfy the People, and the Nobles still preserved their Dignity.

Dignity. On the other side, the desires of the People of *Florence* were injurious and unjust; which constrained the Nobility, with all their power, to stand upon their defence, whence proceeded such effusion of blood, and banishment of the Citizens: and those Laws afterwards enacted, had no respect to Publick good, but were wholly made in favour of the Conquerour. Hence likewise it proceeded, that the people of *Rome* still increased their Virtue with their Victories; for the people being equally admitted, with the Nobles, to all employments in the City, Camp and Government, strove likewise to arrive at the same degree of virtue with them; whereby that City (increasing in Virtue) increased likewise in Power: But in *Florence* the People overcoming, the Nobles were deprived of all Rule, and to regain it, were constrained in their deportment, in their mind, and in their manner of living, not only to assimilate themselves to, but be indeed like the *Plæbeians*; whence ensued the changing of Coats of Arms, and alterations of the Titles of Families, which the Nobles submitted to, to level themselves with the People; whereby that valour in War, and generosity of mind, once in the Gentry, was quite extinguished, and in the people who never had any, it was impossible to kindle it. So that *Florence* from time to time became still more vile and abject; and whereas *Rome* converting its Virtue into Pride, had

brought it self to those terms, that without having a Prince it could not longer support its own Greatness; *Florence* was fallen so low, that any prudent Lawgiver might model it into what form of Government he pleased. Which things, by reading the former Book, may in part be clearly discerned; and having already shewn, The foundations of its Liberty, with the causes of its Divisions; and how the Factions of the Nobility and people, ended with the Tyranny of the Duke of *Athens*, and the ruine of the Gentry; there remains still to recount the Pickeerings between the Citizens and *Plebeians*, and what effects they produced. The power of the Nobility tamed, and the War with the Arch-Bishop of *Millan* ended, one would have thought there had not been left in *Florence* any occasion of scandal or division; but the ill fortune of our City, and its want of good Orders, permitted a difference to arise between the Families of the *Albizi* and *Ricci*, which divided *Florence* no less; than that first of the *Buondelmonti* and *Uberti*, and afterwards of the *Donati* and *Cerebi* had done it. The Popes, whose Seat was now in *France*, and the Emperours, whose constant residence was now in *Germany*, to maintain their Reputation in *Italy*, at divers times had of divers Nations, sent multitudes of Souldiers thither: Insomuch, that at this time there were *English*, *Dutch*, *Britans*, and many others. These (the Wars ended) being left

without

Enmity
between
the *Albizi*
and the
Ricci in
Florence.

without pay or entertainment, under a banner of Fortune, forced now one Prince, and then another, to come to Composition with them. And in the year 1353, comes one of these Companies into *Tuscany*, commanded by *Monsigneur Reale*, a *Provincial*, whose coming frightened all the Cities of that Province; and *Florence* did not only on the account of the Publick make provision of Defence, but many private Citizens, and among them, the *Albizi* and *Ricci* took Arms for their particular safety. These two had an implacable grudge in their hearts, and contrived all ways (the better to raise themselves to the Principality) how to oppress each other; but yet they had not proceeded to blows, only they contended in the Magistracy, and in the Counsel. The City then being, upon this occasion, all in Arms, there happened a Fray in the Old Market, where multitudes of People (as is usual in like cases) were assembled, and the Noise increasing, word was carried to the *Ricci*, that the *Albizi* would assault them; and to the *Albizi*, that the *Ricci* were coming to fall upon them. Upon which the whole City rise, and the Magistrates had much ado to restrain either of the Families, or hinder that fight, which by chance only, and neither Parties fault, was falsely rumoured. This accident (though a slight one) added fuel to the fire of their secret anger and malice; making each Party with more diligence endeavour and seek to gain him-

A fight
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Self Associates and Friends. And because the Citizens, by the ruine of the Great men were reduced to such an equality, that the Magistrates were had in much greater Reuerence than before; they resolved by the ordinary way, vvithout any particular violence to oppress each other. We have declared before, that after the victory of Charles the first, the Magistracy vvvas created vvholly out of the faction of the *Guelfes*, so great authority had they gained over the *Ghibellines*; but Time, various Accidents, and new Divisions, had so blotted out the memory of that Institution, that many descended from the *Ghibellines*, got to be of the prime Ministers of State. Whereupon *Uguccio de Ricci* laboured to get the Law against the *Ghibellines* renewed; the *Albizi* (according to the opinion of many) being descendants of that Faction; their Family having many years before, been Natives of *Arezzo*, and from thence come to dwell at *Florence*. Upon vvhich *Uguccio* thought, that by renewing that Law he should thrust the *Albizi* from the Magistracy, concluding himself from that Clause, That any one descended from a *Ghibelline* should be condemned, if he took upon him the office of a Magistrate. This design being discovered to Peter the Son of *Philip* of the *Albizi*, he determined to second it, least by singly approving it, he should declare himself a *Ghibelline*. And this Law, thus (by the others Ambition) revived, instead of

of taking away, added reputation to Peter *Albizi*; but vvvas the cause of many mischiefs that ensued. For no Law can be more hurtful and dangerous to a Commonwealth, than that vvhich looks into times past: Peter therefore by favouring the revival of this Law, made vvhat his Enemies designed a hindrance to be a step to his Greatness; for becoming Principal of this new Order, he ever after assumed more Authority, being the sole Favourite of this new faction of *Guelfes*. And because no Magistrate vvvas appointed to search out vvho vvvere *Ghibellines*, and so this Law became of little stead, he took order that the Captains vvvere appointed to make Inquisition after the *Ghibellines*, and having found them out, admonish them, that they should not take any Magistracy upon them; hence all those in *Florence*, vvho vvvere made incapable of bearing any Office, vvvere called *Ammoniti* (or the *Admonished*.) The Captains in a short time grown bold in their new Charge, vvithout any kind of respect, not only admonished those vvho deserved it, but vvhoever they thought fit; as their Avarice or Ambition led them. And, from the Year 1357, vvhen this Order first began, to the Year 1366, above two hundred Citizens vvvere admonished. Whereby, the Captains, and the Faction of the *Guelfes*, vvvere become so potent, that every one honoured them for fear of being admonished; and especially the Heads of them, vvhich vvvere

The Laws
against
Ghibellines,
revived.

The *Am-*
moniti,
what, and
who.

1357.

Peter Albizi, Messer Lapo de Castiglione, and Charles Strozzi. And though this insolent kind of proceeding displeased many, yet none were more afflicted than the *Ricci*, conscious to themselves of being the Authors of this disorder; by which they beheld the Commonwealth ruined; and their Enemies (the *Albizi*) contrary to their intent, grown more powerful. Wherefore *Uguccio de Ricci* coming to be one of the Lords, strove to put an end to those miseries, which he and his Associates had given a beginning to: And by a new Law provided, that to the six Captains of the Wards three should be added; of which, two to be chosen amongst the meanest Handicrafts, enacting, That all declared *Ghibellines*, should by twenty four Citizens, *Guelfes*, deputed in manner of a Grand Jury, be confirmed by full Verdict; Whereby the Captains Authority was somewhat qualified, and the trick of Admonishing began to grow cold: however the Factions of the *Albizi* and *Ricci* stood each upon their Guard, and in all Laws, Enterprizes or Counsels, were out of a particular hate, to each other contradictory. Under these distempers they laboured from the Year 1366 to 1371, when the Faction of the *Guelfes* recovered its power. There was of the Family of the *Buondelmonti* a Cavalier called *Messer Benchi*; who for his Valour in the War against the *Pisans*, was made one of the people, and consequently capable of being elected,

Uguccio de Ricci
strives to
mitigate
them,

1371.

and

and sitting among the Senators: but when he expected to take his place in the Signory, a Law was made, that no Noble-man, though made one of the people, should exercise that Office. This act mightily angered *Messer Benchi*, and joyning himself with *Peter Albizi*, they determined with the admonition, to crush the meaner people; and keep the whole Government to themselves. And by virtue of the favour *Messer Benchi* had with the Ancient Nobility, and *Peter Albizi* with the powerful Commons, they revived the power of the *Guelf* Faction, and by a new Reformation of the Wards, ordered matters so, that the Captains and twenty four Citizens were at their dispose: So, that now they grew bolder with their Admonitions than ever before, and the House of the *Albizi*, as heads of this Faction, still grew greater. On the other side, The *Ricci*, with their Colleagues, were not wanting to hinder their proceedings as much as in them lay; so that both lived in continual jealousy, each daily fearing their ruine: For these Causes, many of the Citizens, stirred up out of love to their Country, met together in the Church of *St. Peter Scheraggio*; and reasoning about these disorders among themselves, the Senate came thither, to whom, one of the greatest Authority amongst them, spoke in manner following. 'We were many of us doubtful, most Worthy Lords, of assembling our selves together upon a Publick

A meeting
of the
Commons
about the
present
disorders.

The Speech
of one of
them to
the Lords.

Publick occasion by private orders, thinking we might be censured as too presumptuous, or condemned as too Ambitious; but considering that many Citizens, without any notice taken of them, not for any Publick benefit, but to satisfy their own private Ambition, do daily in Streets and Houses conferr together: We judged, That if they who assembled themselves to consult the ruine of the Common-wealth are not afraid, they ought less to stand in fear whose meeting is designed for Publick good and advantage; nor care we what others judge of us, since they esteem not at all our Censures of them. That love (most Worthy Lords) which we bear our Country first assembled us here, and has now invited you hither, to reason of those Mischiefs already grown too great among us, and which violently increase in this our Republick, and to offer you our assistance to remedy them. In which, you may (though the undertaking be difficult) succeed, if laying aside private Interest, you will with publick Power make use of your Authority. The common distemper of all the Cities of Italy, has (Worthy Lords) infected, and does still infect our City: for since this Province withdrew it self from under the yoke of the Empire, the Cities in it (for want of a powerful bridle to curb them) have not ordered their Estates and Government as free, but like people divided into Sects and

and Factions: Hence sprung all those Mischiefs, and all those Disorders which afflict them. There was not at first any union or friendship among the Citizens, unless among those, combined together in some private Malice, or wickedness against their Country. And all fear of God, and respect to Religion, being banished from among men, Oaths and Faith-plighted are become of no farther avail, than as they redound to Profit, and Men make use of them, not to keep them, but that they may with more facility deceive; and the more ealie and secure the cheat is, the more glory and praise is gained: Thus Wicked men are applauded as Industrious, and the Good reproached as Fools. And the truth is, that in whatever, either of it self is Infectious; or can infect others is crowded and amassed together. The Young men are Idle, and the Old Lascivious; and every Sex, and every Age is corrupted with evil Manners: to which, good Laws (over-ruled by bad Customes) can afford no remedy. Hence arises that Avarice we behold in our Citizens; and that appetite, not of true Glory, but of reproachful Honours, which beget hate, enmity, discord and faction; and these are the Parents of Death, banishment, oppression of Good men, and exaltation of Bad. For the Good, relying upon their Innocency, seek not like the Wicked extraordinary means of Defence and Honour, and so, undefended and

and unregarded, are ruined. From Example of which springs the love of Parties, and the same creates their power; for the wicked out of Avarice and Ambition, and the good out of necessity follow them; and what is most of all pernicious is, to see the Authors and movers of these Seditions, cloak their ends and intentions with a pious Name; for though they be all enemies of Liberty, they all oppress us under colour of setting up an *Aristocracy*, or a *Democracy*. For the reward of Victory which they aim at, is not, to have the glory of having freed the City, but the satisfaction of having overcome others, and usurped the Principality; whither having once reached, what Act is there so unjust, so cruel, or so Avaritious, which they will not attempt. Thus Laws and Ordinances are made for private, not for publick Interest. Hence War, and Peace, and Alliances are contracted, not for general Glory, but particular satisfaction; and if other Cities are sullied with these spots, ours is blotted all over; for the Laws, Statutes, and Civil Edicts, are not made or enacted in order to the peoples freedom, but according to the Ambition of that Party has got the upper hand; whence it follows, that one Party driven out, and one Faction extinct, another presently starts up. For in that City that would maintain it self by Parties rather than by Law, as soon as any Party comes to

to

to remain in it without any opposition, it must of necessity divide within it self; for it cannot defend it self from those peculiar Acts, which for its own safety it at first established. And this to be a Truth, both the Ancient and Modern divisions of our City testify. Every one thought (the *Ghibellines* once destroyed) the *Guelphs* might for a long time have lived in honour and happiness. Yet soon after they were divided into *Bianchi* and *Neri*. At last the *Bianchi* overcome, yet the City never was free from Factions. Sometimes we were fighting in favour of the Exiles; sometimes to decree the quarrel between the Nobles and People: and at length (giving others what we our selves could not, or would not possess in quiet) we submitted our Liberty first to King *Robert*, then to his Brother, then to his Son, and last of all to the Duke of *Atbens*. Yet in no state or condition could we find repose, but were like people who could neither agree to live in Freedom, nor be content with Servitude. Nor were we ashamed (so far are our very Constitutions disposed to Division) whilst yet we lived under the Kings Authority, to postpone the Majesty of a Prince, to the government of a Vile man born in *Agobbio*. For the Honour of this City we should forbear any mention of the Duke of *Atbens*, whose Cruel and Tyrannical carriage should have made us Wise, and taught us how to live: Yet, no sooner was he driven hence, but our

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our Arms were in our hands, and we, with more Rancour and Malice than ever we had done before, fighting one against another, till the Ancient Nobility was quite suppressed and submitted to the Arbitraryment of the people. And now many promised themselves, there would never more be any occasion of Scandal or Division in *Florence*; they being now bridled whose Pride and insupportable Ambition was judged the cause of all. But we this day see by Experience, how fallacious the Thoughts of man are, and how false his Judgment; for the Pride and Ambition of the Nobles was not rooted out, but transplanted into the people, who now pursuing swiftly the footsteps of those Ambitious men, seek to attain the highest degrees in the Commonwealth; and having no other way to climb within reach of them, but Discord, divided the City afresh, reviving again the names of *Guelf* and *Ghibelline*, which were quite forgot, and which it had been well for this Commonwealth if we never had known. Heaven has ordain'd (to the end, nothing humane should boast either perpetuity or constancy) that all Commonwealths should have some fatal Families, born only for their ruin. With these, our Republick has more than any other abounded; for not one, but many have been disturbers and afflictors of it; as first the *Barondelmonti* and *Uberti*, then the *Donati* and *Corchi*,

Corchi, and now (Oh shameful and ridiculous!) the *Ricci* and *Albizi* disturb and divide us. We have not put you in mind of our Corrupt manners, and Ancient and continual Divisions, to terrifie you; but to refresh your memories with the occasions from whence they sprung, and to let you see that we remember them as well as you: and withal to tell you, that former Examples should not make you despair of suppressing these. For those Ancient Families were so mighty, and their Power with Princes so great, that Civil ways and means were not sufficient to bridle them. But, now that the Empire is weak, and the Pope no longer to be dreaded, but all *Italy*, and this City, brought in an Equality, that they may of themselves Govern themselves, the difficulty is not great. And this our Republick may, (notwithstanding old Examples seem to contradict it) not only maintain it self United, but reform it self with good Manners and civil Constitutions. Provided your Lordships dispose your selves to the Work; to which, we, moved out of Charity to our Country, and not out of any private passion, exhort you: And though the Reformation of a State be in it self a weighty task, yet do but take away those distempers that afflict it, that rage which frets it, and that passion that swells it; and impute the ancient Disorders, not to the Nature of the men, but to the Times, which being changed

changed, you may now by applying better Rules, hope for better Success; for the Malignity may with prudence be overcome, by putting a bridle to the Ambition of Disturbers; abolishing those Laws which are the Nourishers of Sedition, and enacting such as are congruous to true Civility and Liberty. And apply your selves as soon as you can, to do it by the gentle and favourable assistance of Laws, least if you delay, men be constrained to do it by force of Arms. The Lords touched to the quick with what they were before Conscious of, and moved with their Authority and Exhortations, gave Commission to 56 Citizens to provide for the safety of the Commonwealth. It's most true that many heads are more proper to keep firm and stable good Constitutions, than to invent new ones. These Citizens consulted more how to quell the present Factions, than to remove opportunities or occasions of future Divisions, and at length attained neither to one nor the other; for occasions of new Factions they took not away, and from these which they watcht over, they raised up one more potent, and dangerous to the Republick. However, three of the Family of the *Albizi*, and three of the *Ricci* (of which *Peter Albizi* and *Uguccio Ricci* were two) they made incapable for three years, of bearing any Office in the Magistracy (excepting, that on the Party of the *Guelfs*.) They likewise prohibited all Citizens entering the

The Lords moved with the Peoples representation of Affairs; and appoint a Committee of Safety.

the Palace, unless in such times as the Magistrates Sat. They enacted, that whoever was beaten, or had their Goods unlawfully detained, might, by Petition, accuse the Parties to the Councils, and having Convicted them, leave it to their Sentence. This Order took away all power from the Faction of the *Ricci*, and increased that of the *Albizi*; for although they were equally marked, yet the *Ricci* suffered the most. For though *Peter* were sent out of the Palace of the Lords, yet that of the *Guelfs*, where he had the greatest Authority, was open to him, and if he and his Followers were before warm in giving out their Admonitions, they now grew throughly hot; and to this ill disposition new disgusts were added. Pope Gregory the Eleventh sat now in the Chair, and residing in *Avignon*, governed (as his Predecessours had done) *Italy* by his Legates, who being generally proud and Covetous, had afflicted many Cities. One of these being about this time at *Bologna*, took occasion from the Famine which was that year in *Florence*, and thought to make himself Lord of *Toscany*, and not only forbore to supply the *Florentines* with Provision, but to put them out of hopes of any Harvest: for no sooner did the Spring appear, but he invaded them with a great Army, hoping he might, finding them disarmed and half starved, easily subdue them. And possibly he had sped in his Enterprize, had not his Army been Treacherous and Mercenary.

Pope's Legate invades Florence.

The Florentines make War against the Church.

For the *Florentines* seeing no other remedy, gave his Souldiers 130000 *Florins*, and made them relinquish the Attempt. We may begin Wars when we please, but cannot end them so: This War begun by the Ambition of the Legate, was continued by the Revenge of the *Florentines*, who entered into League with *Messer Bernaby*, and all those Cities which were Enemies to the Church; and they created a Council of Eight Citizens to manage this War, giving them power to act without Appeal, and spend without Account. This War against the Church, notwithstanding that *Uguccio* was dead, somewhat raised up the heads of the Faction of the *Ricci*, who had allwaies in opposition to the *Albizi* favoured *Messer Barnaby*, and disfavoured the Church; and the more, because the Council of the Eight were all Enemies to the Family of the *Guelphs*; which made *Peter Albizi*, *Messer Lapo de Castiglionchio*, *Charles Strozzi*, and many more, consult together how they might offend their Enemies. And whilst the *Eight* made War, they admonished. The War lasted three years, and determined not but with the Popes death; and was managed with so much Valour and Universal satisfaction, that the Magistracy was every year prorogued to the *Eight*, and they were called *Saints*, though they slighted Excommunications, and spoiled the Churches, and forced the Clergy, so much greater value set those Citizens of that time upon their

their City than their Souls, letting the Church understand, that as its Friends they could defend it, so as its Enemies they could afflict it: for they made all *Romania*, *La Marca*, and *Perugia* rebel; But whilst they made so successful a War against the Pope, they could not against the Captains of the Wards and their Faction defend themselves; for the Envy the *Guelphs* bore to the Council of *Eight*, gave an addition to their boldness, so that to omit what they did to other Noble Citizens, they could not abstain from injuring some of the *Eight* themselves. And to such Arrogance were the Captains of the Wards arrived, that they were more feared than the Senatours, and with less reverence were Addresses made to these than to them, and more was the Palace of that Faction in Esteem than theirs, insomuch that there came no Ambassadors to *Florence*, but who had Commission to the Captains. Pope Gregory then being dead, and the City having no more Wars abroad, yet lived within great Confusion; for on one side the Arrogancy of the *Guelphs* was insupportable, and on the other they could perceive no way to quell it; but they judged it a forced-put to come to a tryal by dint of Sword, and see which of the two Parties could prevail. On the *Guelphs* side were all the Ancient Nobles, with most of the ablest Citizens, among whom as we said *Messer Lapo*, *Peter* and *Charles* were the principal: On the

other were all the meaner sort of the People, of whom the Leaders were the Council of Eight, Commissioners of the War, Messer George Scali, Thomas Strozzi, to whom the Ricci, Alberti and Medici adhered. The remainder of the Multitude, as is usual in such cases, joyned themselves with the discontented Party. The Chiefs of the Faction of the *Guelphs* began to think their Enemies strength formidable, and their danger great, whenever a *Signory* chancing to be chosen out of their Enemies, should press down the Ballance: which thinking good to prevent they met together, where they diligently examined the state of the City, and their own Condition, and upon the whole, it appeared to them that the Admonished (being increased to such Numbers) had laid such a load of Infamy upon them, that the whole City was become their Enemies. To which they saw no other remedy, but as they had taken their Honours from them, so to drive them out of the City, possessing themselves by force of the Palace of the Lords, and seizing all the Government into their own hands; in Imitation of the Ancient *Guelphs*, who had never lived securely in the City, had they not chased thence all their Adversaries: Every one agreed to the thing, but they disagreed in the time. It was now the Year 1378, and the Month of April, and Messer Lapo thought it not fit to delay time, affirming nothing so prejudicial to Time as

The
Guelphs
plot
to seize
the Go-
vernment.

1378.

Time,

Time, especially to them, considering that in the next *Signory*, *Silvester Medici* might easily be made *Gonfaloniere*, whom they knew an Enemy to their Party. On the other side *Peter Albizi* was for some time of respite; for he judged it necessary to have some Forces in a readiness, and those could not be well gathered together without discovery, and a discovery must needs be very dangerous; he therefore proposed the deferring it till St. *Johns* day near at hand; at which time, that being the solemnest Festival the City kept, such Multitudes would be running thither, that they might hide whom and as many as they pleased; and to secure them from the fear of *Sylvester* he would admonish him, and least that should not do, he put into the Election one of the Fraternity of his quarter, so that drawing out the Lots (the Purses being empty) the Lot might probably light on some other of his Companions. Upon this then they determined, though Messer Lapo was much against it, judging Delay dangerous, and alledging, that no time in the World was ever convenient in all points; so that he that waits till every thing falls to his mind, must either never attempt any thing, or if he does attempt, do it to his disadvantage. They therefore admonished the Fraternity; but it would not do, nor could they hinder *Silvester* from being chosen; for the Council of Eight perceiving the Trick, prevented the Chaug from

B b b 3 being

being drawn. *Silvester de Alammano de Medici* was thereupon allow'd for *Gonfaloniere*. He being of one of the greatest Families among the people could not endure to see the Commons oppressed by a few Rich men, and having in himself determined to suppress this Insolency, seeing the *Plebeians* favourable to him, and many of the Richest of the People inclinable, he communicated his design to *Bennet Alberti*, *Thomas Strozzi*, and *Messer George Scali*, who promised to bring him all the help they could. They therefore privately formed a Law which renewed the Orders of Justice against the *Grandeas*, retrenched the power of the Captains of the Wards, and made way for the Admonished to be recall'd to their Dignities: and that in the same time they might make tryal and obtain, having first the Colledge, and then the Councils to debate with, and *Silvester* being Provost (which degree, for the time it lasts, makes him as it were a Prince of the City,) on the same morning Summons the Colledge and Councils; and first to the Colledge, apart from the other, proposes the Law to be enacted; which, as a new thing, met with so much dislike, that though the Number assembled were but few, he could not obtain it. Whereupon *Silvester* seeing, that Force was the readiest way to get it granted, he pretends to go out upon a necessary occasion, and ere any one was aware of him, hies him to the Council, and mounting on

a place where every one might see and hear him, tells them: That he thought he had been chosen *Gonfaloniere*, not to be Judge of private Causes, for which ordinary Judges were appointed; but to watch for the Common-wealth, to correct the Insolence of the Mighty, and temper those Laws, by the abuse of which, the Republick was now running to ruine: That he had with diligence and Care weighed these things, and as far as in him lay, made due provision; but the Malignity of men opposing his just Intentions, his power of doing Good was taken away, and they might hear, but could no more debate it. Wherefore, seeing he could no longer be helpful to the Common-wealth, he knew not why he should hold that Magistracy, which either indeed he did not deserve, or at least, others thought he did not; and therefore he would retire home, that the People might choose in his place, one of greater Virtue, or better Fortune than himself. And concluding these words, he went out of the Council towards his House. Those who were in the Council, and privy to the matter, and others desirous of Novelty, presently raised a Rumour, to which the Lords and the Colledge ran; and seeing their *Gonfaloniere* going away, with Intreaties and Authority they stopt him, and made him return into the Council, which was now in a Tumult. And many Prime Citizens were threatned with Injurious words, among whom *Charles Strozzi* was by an Artificer taken by the throat, and he would

have killed him, had not the standers by vvith much ado rescued him: but he that most of all encouraged the Tumult, and drew the City to Arms was *Bennet Alberti*, vvho from the Palace vvindows vvith a loud voice cryed out to Arms, and presently the vvhole place vvvas full of Armed men: Whereupon the *Colledge*, vvho first of all upon Intreaty vvould not yield, now threatened and terrified, consented. The Captains of the Wards at the same time had assembled a great many Citizens in their Palace, to Consult, vvhat they should do to defend themselves against the Orders of the *Lords*. But vvhen they heard the Alarm, and understood vvhat vvvas determined in Council, every man fled to his House. However, let none raise an alteration in a City, upon a fond belief, that he can stop it vvhen he pleases, and restrain it as he list. 'Twas *Silvester's* intention by creating this Law, to quiet the City, but it succeeded otherwise; for the Humours once moved had in such a manner incensed every one, that the Shops vvvere not opened: but the Citizens fortified themselves in their Houses, and many hid their Goods in Churches and Monasteries, as if all feared an approaching danger. The Company of the Artizans Assembled, and each body chose them a *Syndic*; vvhereupon the Priors Summoned their *Colledge* and those the *Syndics*, and had a vvhole days Consultation how the City might, to every ones satisfaction, be quieted; but being of different

different Judgments they could not agree. The day following the Artizans drew forth their Banners, vvhich the Lords hearing, and doubting vvhat might follow, Summoned the Council to consult a remedy: but scarce vvvas it Assembled, and the Rumour spread abroad, but presently the Ensigns of the Trades, and Multitudes of Armed men following them, vvvere in the place. Whereupon the Council, to give the Trades and People vvherewith to content their hopes, gave general power, vvhich they call in Florence *BALIA*, to the *Lords*, the *Colleges*, and the *Eight*, the *Captains* of the Wards, and the *Syndics* of the Trades, to reform the State for the best advantage to the Publick: But whilst this was concluding, some of the Companies of the Trades, together with the Rabble, (set on by those who desired to revenge the late Injuries received from the *Guelphs*) separating themselves from the rest, sackt, and burnt the Palace of Messer *Lapo de Castiglionchio*; who, as soon as he heard the *Signory* was attempting something against the Ordinances of the *Guelphs*, and saw the People in Arms; having no other remedy, but either to conceal himself, or fly; first hid himself in the Monastery of the *Holy-Cross*, and thence in a Fryers Habit fled to *Carentino*, where he was often heard repent, that ever he had consented to *Peter Albizzi*, and to rail at *Peter*, for having moved the forbearing to seize the Government till *St. Johns Day*. But

Lapo Castiglione's House burnt by the People.

Peter

Many o-
ther Hou-
ses burnt.

The Mul-
titude ap-
pealed.

Peter and Charles Strozzi, in the first be-
ginning of the Tumults, hid themselves,
believing (they once over) they had Kind-
red and Friends enough to secure their stay
in Florence. Messer Lapo's House burnt,
(for Mischiefs are hardly begun, but easily
run on) many other Houses were, either
out of general Hatred, or private Malice,
sackt and burnt: And, that they might have
Companions that with more skill in Villany
might assist them in plundering other mens
Goods, they broke open the publick Prisons,
afterwards they sackt the Monastery of St.
Agnolo, and the Convent of the Holy Spirit,
where many Citizens had hid their Goods.
Nor had the publick Treasury scaped the
hands of these Thieves, if by their respect
and reverence to one of the Lords, it had
not been defended; who on Horse-back, with
many men at Arms following him, in the
best manner he could, opposed himself to
the rage of the Multitude. At length, the
popular Fury somewhat mitigated, what by
the Authority of the Lords, and what by
the approach of Night; the day following
the Balia extended their Favours to the
Admonished, but on condition they
should not for three years bear any Office
in the Magistracy. They annulled all
Laws made by the Guelphs, in prejudice
of the Citizens. They proclaimed Rebels
Lapo de Castiglionchio and his Consorts with
some others generally hated. After which,
the New Lords were declared, to whom
was

was Gonfaloniere, Lewis Guiccardine, which
gave great hopes of putting a stop to all Tu-
mults, because every one had an opinion
they were Peaceable men, and lovers of the
publick Repose: Yet the Shops were not
open'd, nor did the Citizens lay down their
Arms, but kept strong Guards up and down
the City: wherefore the Lords received
not the Magistracy without the Palace, with
the usual Pomp, but within, and there too
without the observation of any Ceremony.
These Senates judged nothing of more con-
cern could be done in the beginning of their
Magistracy, than pacifying the City; where-
fore they made them lay down their Arms,
open their Shops, and sent those Country-
men the Citizens had called in to their Assi-
stance home; they placed Guards in many
places of the City, so that, if the Admo-
nished could have been quiet; the City had
been at Peace; but they were not content
to stay three years for their Honours, inso-
much, that the Trades once more drew to-
gether in their favour, and demanded of
the Senate, that, for the good and quiet of
the City, they would enact, that for the
future no Citizen, in no time, either of the
Senate, the Colledge, or Fraternities, the
Captains of the Wards, or Consuls of the
Trades, should be Admonished as Ghibelline;
and that moreover new Purges should be
made of the Guelph Party, and the Old
ones burnt. These demands were not only
by the Lords of the Senate, but by all the
Coun-

The new
Lords strive
to quiet
the City.

The Ad-
monished
cause of
new Strife.

The Gon-
falonier's
Speech to
the Peo-
ple.

Councils presently accepted: So that now it was generally thought these new raised Tumults would be stopt too; but because men can never be satisfied with recovering their own, but are greedy likewise to seize somewhat of other mens in Revenge; those whose hopes and Stock lay in these disorders, put it in the Peoples heads, That they could never be safe unless many of their Enemies were driven out and destroyed: which being represented to the Lords, they summoned before them the Magistrates of the Trades, with their Syndics, to whom *Lewis Guiccardine, Gonfaloniere*, spoke in this manner: Had not these Lords, and I together with them, known long time since the Fortune of this City, that as soon as Wars are ceased abroad they must begin at home, we should have much wondred at these Tumults that have happened, and taken them more to heart: but, because things we are accustomed to, bring less trouble along with them, we have borne the past Riots with patience; especially, since they were without any fault of ours begun, and hoping they, according to former Examples, would have an end, when we had complied with you in so many great and weighty Demands; but, seeing that you are not Appeased, nay, rather that you would we acting fresh Injuries against the Citizens, condemning them to Exile and Death; our displeasure is increased with your Injustice: And truly, had we believed that in the time of our Magistracy, this our City, either by Opposing

or

or Complying with you, must have been ruined, we had either by Death or Banishment freed our selves from these Honours. But judging we were to meet with men that had in them some Humanity, and love to their Country, we willingly undertook the Magistracy, believing that our Clemency would over-rule your Ambition. But now we find by Experience, that the more humbly we deport our selves to you, and the more we grant you, the prouder still you grow, and the more extravagant are your Demands. And if we tell you this, 'tis not to offend you, but to make you take it into consideration; for we would have another tell you what pleases you, but we must tell you what is for your good. Tell me now upon your honesty, tell us What is it you can Civilly desire of us, which we have not granted? You would have the Captains of the Wards Authority taken away; Done it is. You would have the Purses burnt, and reformed ones to be made; We have consented to it. You would have the Admonished restored to their Honours; The request is admitted. At your desire, we have pardoned those that burnt and sacked the Houses, and have sent into Banishment many Honourable and worthy Citizens, only for your satisfaction. The power of, the great is to please you, by new Laws restrained. What end will you put to your desires, or how long will you abuse your Liberty? Are you not moved, to behold us with more patience bear the Defeat, than you the Victory? To what will these Divisions bring this City? Do not you

you remember how, when you were once divided, Castrucchio a mean Citizen of Lucca, over-awed you: That the Duke of Athens a private Leader, subjected you? but when you were United, not an Arch-bishop of Milan, nay not a Pope could do it; but after some years Wars were forced to desist with shame. Why will you, with your Discords in time of Peace, enslave that City, which so many powerful Enemies in time of War left free? What can you expect from your Divisions but Servitude? or, What hope from the Goods you have stolen, or shall steal, but Poverty? For you have taken from those, who with their Industry maintained our whole City; whom spoiling of their Goods, you spoil the City of her Nourishment? For those who have seized them, being ill-got-Goods, will never know how to keep them; whence of necessity must follow Hunger and Poverty in the City. I, and these Lords, Command you, and if Honour will permit it, Intreat you, that you would once settle your minds, and rest satisfied with what we have enacted in your favour; or, if you would yet have any thing more, desire it Civilly, and make not your Demands with Arms and Tumult: for whilst you are just and reasonable, you shall alwaies be pleased; give not then opportunity to Wicked men, at your Cost and Charge, and under your Protection, to ruine this your Country. These words (because they were true) touched those Citizens to the Soul, and they kindly thanked the Gonfaloniere, for having acted

acted with them like a good Lord, and with the City like a good Citizen; offering ready Obedience to whatever was committed to them. And to put them in a way to perform their Promise, the Lords deputed two Citizens for each of the Chief Magistracies, who together with the Syndics of the Trades, were to Consult of what was necessary for establishing publick Peace, and refer it to the Lords. Whilst these things were in Agitation, arose another Tumult, which more than any of the former disturbed the Common-wealth. Most of the Burnings and Robberies happened the days preceding, were committed by the very scum of the People; and those who had been the boldest and forwardest among them stood in fear, that when the greater Differences were quieted and composed, they should be called to account, and punished for their Villanies, and, as it alwaies happens, be left forsaken by those who had set them on: to which was added, the Hatred which the Labouring people bore to the Wealthy Citizens, and Masters of Trades, not believing themselves so well satisfied for their labour as they justly deserved. For in the time of Charles the First, when the City was divided into Trades, every one had a Master or Governour; and it was enacted, that in all Civil Causes those Masters should be Judges between the Inferiour people of that Trade. These Trades, as we have said before, were at first but XII; in process of time

Another
Tumult
worse
than the
former.

time they came to be XXI, and grew to such power, that in few years they took upon them the Government of the vvhole City. And, because among them there vvere some Trades more Honourable, and some less, they vvere divided, and VII vvere called the Greater, and XIV the Less. From this Division, and other Causes before recited, sprung the Arrogance of the Captains of the Companies; for those Citizens vvho had Anciently been *Guelphs*, and under vvhose Jurisdiction that Magistracy vvas alwaies Sworn, alwaies favoured the people of the higher Degrees, and persecuted those of the Meaner, with their Friends and Defenders; and hence arose the many Tumults we have related amongst them; but because, ordinarily, many of those Handicrafts, to which the Meanest of the People applyed themselves, vvere annexed to the bodies of other Trades, without having particular Companies of their own Arts, but submitting themselves according to their various mysteries to others; it often happened out that when either they were not satisfied for their labour, or thought themselves any way oppressed by their Masters, they had no other refuge, but to the Magistrate of that Trade which governed them, whom they thought did not do them equall Justice: and of all the Companyes that had such people under them, the *Wool-trade* had the most, which was the richest, first, and most powerful of all, and which by their industry fed, and does feed, the greatest part of the meanest

meanest and labouring people. The *Plebeians* then, as well those of the *Woollen Drapers* Company as of the others, being mightily enraged for the reasons above expressed, and withall, full of fear for the Riots and Robberies, they had committed, met many times together by night, discoursing the Matters had happened, and laying before one another the danger they were in; where one of the boldest, and of the greatest experience, to animate the rest spoke thus: *Were we now to consult, whether we were to take Arms, to burn, and rob the houses of the Citizens, or violate the Churches, I should be one of those should judge it fit to be first considered; and possibly advise it as better, to be content with quiet Poverty, then hazardous Gain. But since Arms are taken up and many mischiefs done, I think our business is to consult how we may not here leave off, or if we do, how we shall secure ourselves for what's past. I am of the mind, were there nothing else to teach us; Necessity it self does it. You see all the City filled with Complaints, and Hatred against us; the Citizens consulting, and the Lords contriving with the Magistrates: believe me, They are enacting Halts, and studying snares, to entrap us. Two things we are therefore to look to; First, That we may not for what's done, be to morrow punished; and then, That we may hereafter live with more liberty and satisfaction then formerly: To the first, 'Tis in my Judgment convenient; that to procure pardon for our former Faults, we Commit new,*

The
Speech of
a Plebeian
to encourage
his
Fellows to
Villany.

ding Mischief to Mischief, doubling our Robberies, and Ruines, and endeavouring to engage what Companions we can, for where all offend, none are punished; and small Faults are corrected, but great Crimes rewarded; for where many Suffer, few seek Revenge: General injuries being born with more patience, then particular ones. The multiplying then of our Mischiefs, will be the meanes to get no pardon, and set us in a path to arrive at those sweets of Liberty we desire. And in my mind, the purchase is certain, for those who should hinder us from it are divided and Rich; their Divisions will give us the Victory, and their Riches, (becoming ours) maintain it: Nor let that Antiquity of Blood, with which they upbraid us, affright you: All men having had the same beginning, are equal in Blood; and all made after the same manner? Let's be all stript naked, and we shall appear the same. Put us in their Cloaths, and them in ours, and without doubt we shall look like Nobles, and they like Labourers; for nothing but Poverty and Riches makes a difference among men. It greives me to hear, that many of you are troubled in Conscience for what's already done, and are loath to do any more; and certainly, if it be true, you are not the men I took you for; for neither Conscience nor Infamy should terrify you; those that overcome (let them overcome how they will) have no reason to be ashamed; A fig then for Conscience; shall we that are in daily fear of being starved or thrown into a Goal, be frightened with a story of Hell? If you

had

had but observed the course of the World, you would perceive, that all they which have attained to great Wealth or Power, have got it, either by Fraud or Force, and what they have thus usurped by Deceit or Violence, to mask the vices of the Action, they call by the title of Honest gain, and those who for want of wit, or tenderness of Conscience, eschew these courses, are alwayes beggars and slaves; for the faithful Servant must alwayes be a Servant, and Honest men always poor: none free themselves from Servitude, but the faithles and the bold; nor from Poverty, but the rapacious and fraudulent: For God and Nature has so distributed the Fortunes of men that more are inclined to Rapine than Industry, and more disposed to do mischief than to do good. Hence proceeds it that men devour one another, and he alwayes comes by the worst, that dares the least. We ought therefore to make use of that power Fortune puts in our hands, which could never be offered us in a better time, the Citizens being still divided, the Senators fearful, the Magistrates Terrified, so that it is an easy matter, before they unite and gather Courage, to oppress them: Whereupon we shall remain absolute Lords of the City, or at least owners of so much as will enable us not only to procure pardon for our past Offences, but authorize us to threaten new. I confess the attempt is bold, and dangerous, but where necessity pinches, Boldness is judged prudence, and men never weigh Danger in great attempts; for those enterprizes that are begun with Danger, end with Glory; and we ne-

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ver

ver can escape out of one Danger, but by another: And sure, when we behold Prisons, torments, and Death preparing, we ought rather to fear their infliction on us, then think our selves secure, for the pains are certain, but the safety doubtful. How often have I heard you complain of the Covetousness of your Superiours, and the Injustice of your Magistrates? Now is the time, not only to free your selves from them, but to advance your selves to such a Superiority over them, that they shall have more reason to complain, and fear, than you. But the Opportunity which time has brought us is flying away, and in vain; when it is once past shall we strive to recall it? You see the preparations of our Enemies, let us prevent them in their very Thoughts; for the first of us that gets to Arms, will doubtless be the Conquerour, to the ruine of his Enemy, and advancement of his own Party; whereby many of us shall get Honour, and all Safety. These perswasions set their minds a boiling, which were before hot enough for any Mischief; whereupon they determined to take Arms, as soon as they had drawn more Accomplices to their Party, binding themselves by Oaths to succour each other, when ever any of them should be oppressed by the Magistrate. Whilst they were thus preparing to destroy the Republic, their design was discovered to the Lords; wherefore they got one Simon of the Piazza into their hands, from whom they learnt the whole Conspiracy, and how the day following the Riot

Riot would begin. Whereupon, feeling their danger, they summoned the Colledges, and those Citizens, who, together with the Syndics of the Trades, were to consult about the uniting of the City: The Evening was come upon them before all were Assembled, and the Lords were then by them advised to send for the Consuls of the Trades, who all with one consent Counsell'd them, That all the men of Arms in Florence should be drawn together, and that the Standard-bearers of the People should, in the Morning early, be with their Companies Armed in the place before the Palace. One Nicholas of Sanfrancesco was putting in order the Clock of the Palace whilst Simon was Tormenting, and the Citizens were Assembling, and having understood what the matter was, returning to his House, he filled all the Neighbourhood with the Clamour, in so much that on a suddain, in the place of the Holy Spirit, there were above a thousand men Assembled. This Rumour presently spread among the other Conspirators, and Great St. Peters, and St. Laurences, were in an instant filled with Armed men. Whilst at the approach of day, which was the 21 of July, there appeared not above Eighty men at Arms in the Piazza to fight with the Senators, and not one of the Standard-bearers; for they hearing the whole City was in Arms, were afraid to stir out of their Houses. The first Band of the Plebeians that possessed the Piazza, were those

who had Rendezvouz'd at Great St. Peters, at whose Arriyal the men at Arms moved not: Presently the rest appeared, and not meeting any Opposition, with loud and terrible Out-cries demanded the Prisoners from the Signory, and to have them by Force, since they were not surrendred; they fell to burning the House of *Lewis Guiccardine*; whereupon the Lords, for fear of worse, resigned them up; and having got them, they took away the Standard of Justice from the Executor, and under it burnt the Houses of many Citizens, persecuting all whom for private or publick Reasons they hated; and many Citizens, to wreak their private Malice and Revenge, particular Injuries led them to the Houses of their Enemies: for there needed no more, than Crying-out amidst the Multitude, To such a House, or such an House, and he that carryed the Standard turned towards it. Having done a great deal of Mischief, to allay it with some worthy Act, they made *Silvester de Medici*, and so many other Citizens Knights, that the whole number amounted to 64, among whom were *Bennet* and *Anthony Alberti*, *Thomas Strozzi*, and such like of their Confidants, though many likewise they made by force; but that which in this Accident was very remarkable, was, To see them burn many Houses, and make the Owners the very same day Knights, (so close did their Favours follow their Injuries) whereof *Lewis Guiccardine*, *Gonsalviere*

niere of Justice was one. The Lords in the midst of so much Tumult, seeing themselves Abandoned by the men at Arms, the Heads of the Trades, and their own Standard-bearers, were astonished; for none pursuant to the Orders given came to their assistance, and of sixteen Standards, only that of the *Golden Lion*, and that of the *Cow and Calf*, with *John Cambi* appeared: And these staid but a short time in the *Piazza*, for seeing no others follow them, they likewise marched off. The Citizens on the other side, beholding the Fury of this raging Multitude, and the Palace forsaken, kept some within their Houses, others followed the Armed Croud, that they might the better, being amongst them, defend their own and their Friends Houses. Thus their power grew stronger, and that of the Lords decreased. This Tumult lasted all day, and night coming on, they stopt at the Palace of Messer *Stephano*, behind Saint *Barnaby's* Church. Their Number was above six thousand, and before dawn of Day, they with Threats made the Trades send in their Ensigns. Morning being come, with the Standard of Justice, and the Ensigns of the Trades, they came before the *Podestà*, or Mayors Palace, and the *Podestà* refusing to give them possession, they fought and overcome him. The Lords willing to come to any Composition with them, since they could not tell how to quell them by Force, sent for four of their Colledge, and im-

The Rebels grow stronger, and the Lords weaker.

The high
Demands
of the
Multi-
tude.

ployed them to the *Mayors* Palace to understand their minds; who found, that the Heads of the *Plebeians*, with the *Syndics* of the Arts, and some Citizens, had already determined what they would demand of the Senate: whereupon Accompanied with four deputed by the Rabble, and these following Demands they returned to the Senate: That the Company of *Wool-Merchants* might not hereafter have a Forraign Judge: That three new Corporations of Trades should be erected; one for the *Carders* and *Dyers*, the other for the *Barbers*, *Hosiers*, *Tailors*, and other such kind of Merchants, and the third for the poor *Labouring People*; and that for these three new Corporations, there should alwaies be chosen two *Lords*, and for the fourteen lesser Corporations Three. That the Senate should provide Halls for these New Corporations to meet in. That none entred under these Bodies Corporate, should be forced to pay any Debt under two *Ducats* for this two years. That the Bank should remit their Interest, and only the Principal be paid. That those who were Confined and Condemned, should be pardoned. That all the Admonished should be restored to their Dignities: With many other Advantages which they asked for their Favourers or Favorites; and on the contrary, many of their Enemies to be Confined and Admonished. Which Demands, though they were shameful and dishonourable to the Common-wealth,

wealth, yet for fear of worse were accepted by the Senate, Eldges, and Council of the People; but to give them perfection, it was requisite they should be consented to by the Common Council, which (because in one day they could not assemble two Councils) they agreed to refer to the next; and the Artizans appeared content, and the Vulgar satisfied, promising, if they gave perfection to that Law, all Tumults should cease. The next Morning, whilst the Common Council was debating the Matter, the Multitude, voluble and impatient, marched under their former Colours into the *Piazza* with loud shouts, and horrible Out-cries, affrighting both the Council and the Lords: Upon which *Guerriante Marigulio*, moved more out of Fear than any other private Passion, went down, under pretence of guarding the lower Gate, and fled to his House; but he could not pass out so privately, but he was taken notice of by the Rabble and known: yet they did him no injury; only the Multitude at sight of him Cryed out with one voice, That the Lords should all leave the Palace, or else they would kill their Children, and burn their Houses. Mean while the Law was determined, and the Lords were returned into their Chamber, and the Council gone down, but neither daring to go out of the Lodge, nor pass the Court, despairing of the safety of the City, they made a stand; such Villany was there in the Multitude; and so much wretch-

wretchedness or fear in those, who might have either bridled or suppressed them. The Lords were likewise, in Confusion, doubtful of the preservation of their Country, seeing themselves forsaken by their own Guards, and not by any one Citizen, either with their Aid or Council supported. Whilst they thus stood uncertain, either what they might, or what they ought to do, *Thomas Strozzi*, and *Bennet Alberti*, moved to it by their private Ambition, desirous to be Masters of the Palace, or because indeed they believed it the best way, perswaded them to yield to this popular Violence, and return as private men to their Houses. This Counsel given by them who had been Heads of the Tumult; made *Alamanno Acciaiuoli*, and *Nicholas de Bose*, two of the Lords (though the rest yielded) exclaim against them, and taking a little heart, told them, That if the rest would go, they could not help it; but they would not lay down their Authority till their time was expired, unless with it they laid down their Lives. Their Dissenting increased the Lords Fear, and the Peoples Rage, so that the *Gonfaloniere*, choosing rather to quit his Magistracy with shame, than hold it with danger, recommended it to *Thomas Strozzi*, who conducting him out of the Palace, conveyed him to his own House. The other Lords in like manner, one after another departed: Whereupon *Alman* and *Nicholas*, that they might not be judged more Couragious than Wise, seeing

The Lords
driven out
of the Pa-
lace.

seeing themselves left alone went away also; and the Palace remained in the hands of the *People*, and of the Eight Commissioners of War, vvho had not yet laid down their Office. There vvvas one *Michael de Lando* a Comber of Wool, vvho, vvhen the Croud entered the Palace, had the Standard of Justice in his hand. This Fellow bare-foot, and scarce a Rag to cover him, leaps up the Stairs, with all the Rabble following him, and getting upon the place vvhere Lords used to give Audience, he makes a stand, and turning to the Multitude: *You see*, says he, *that this Palace is yours, and this City in your hands; what is now your opinion how they shall be disposed?* To vvwhich, they all made Answer, That they vvould have him to be *Gonfaloniere*, and Lord, and that he should govern them, and the City, as he thought fit: He was an understanding vvitty Fellow, and more beholding to Nature than Fortune; and therefore accepting the Authority, he determines presently, to quiet the City, and put a stop to the Tumults, and to keep the People employed, and gain time to put himself in order; he commands Search to be made for one *Ser Nuto*, whom *Messer Lapo de Castiglionchio* had designed for *Bargello*, or Head Sergeant: Upon which Commission, most that vvvere about him ran. And, to begin that Government with Justice, he had got by Favour, he made Proclamation that none should dare to burn or steal any thing; and, for a Terrour,

Michael de Lando a Comber of Wool, made *Gonfaloniere*, and Lord, by the Rabble.

caused

caused a Gibbet to be erected in the *Piazza*. And to give a beginning to the Reformation of the City, he annulled the *Syndics* of the Trades, and made New; deprived the *Lords* and *Colledges* of the Magistracy, and burnt the Purfes of Offices. Mean while, *Nuto* vvas by the Multitude brought into the *Piazza*, and hanged by one foot on the Gibbet, and every one flashing a piece from him, there was in an instant nothing left but his Foot. The Council of *Eight*, during this, (believing themselves, since the *Lords* were departed, Chief Magistrates of the City) had already designed New *Lords*, vvhich *Michael* understanding, sent to tell them, that they should presently depart the Palace; for he would let every one know, how, without their Counsel, he knew how to govern *Florence*. He after Assembled the *Syndics* of the Trades, and created a *Signory* of Four for the Labouring people, two for the Greater, and two for the Lesser Trades. Besides this, he made a new *Squittini*, or Imborsation for Choice of Magistrates, and divided the State into Three parts; one whereof related to the New Arts, the other to the Lesser, and the third to the Greater. He gave Messer *Silvester Medici* the Rent of the Shops upon the Old-Bridge, and to himself the *Podestaria*, or Bailywick of *Empali*, and to many other Citizens, and many of the Common People he gave beneficial Gifts; not so much to restore them part of what they had given him, but that they might

might be at all times ready to defend him from Envy. Yet the People began to think, that *Michael* in Reforming the State, too much sided with the Wealthy Party, and that they had not so great a share in the Government as was fitting, or rather, necessary for them, to maintain and defend themselves in it; Whereupon, spurred on by their habitual Boldness, they again took Arms, and in a Tumultuous manner gathering to their Colours, come into the *Piazza*, and Require the *Lords* to come down to the *Ringhiera* (or place of Audience) to Debate of New Matters. *Michael*, seeing their Arrogance, not to Enrage them more, without otherwise hearing what they would have, blamed their manner of coming to ask any thing; Exhorted them to lay down Arms, and then should easily be granted them, what the *Signory* could not Honourably by Force concede. At vvhich, the Multitude enraged against the Palace, went to *St. Maria Nouella*, where they Constituted among themselves Eight Chiefs, with Ministers, and other Orders, which paid them Reverence and Respect: So that there was now two Sects in the City; and it was under two different Governments. The Chiefs of the *Plebeians* determined among themselves, that alwaies *Eight* chosen from the Companies of Trades, should dwell vvvith the *Lords* in the Palace, and that, vvhatsoever was debated by the *Signory*, should be by them confirmed. They took away from

Silvester

The People discontented with *Michael* Lande, take Arms.

Silvester Medici, and *Michael Landò*, all that in their former Concessions they had bestowed on them, they assigned over to many of their own Offices, and other supplies, that they might the better maintain their port and dignity; having concluded these things, they sent them to the Lords, requiring they might be confirmed by the Councils, with an assurance they would have them done by Force, if by fere means they could not obtain them. Those who brought them performed their Commission to the Lords with great boldness, and greater Presumption, reproaching the *Gonfaloniere* with the Dignity they had conferred on him, and how ungrateful he had been in managing those Honours they had bestowed on him, with so little respect towards them. And from these injurious words, proceeding to threats, *Michael* could no longer endure such Arrogance; but remembering more the Degree he then held, then his low and mean Condition, resolved to punish in an extraordinary manner such extraordinary Insolence, and drawing his Sword, He had by his side, he first grievously wounded him that spoke, and then caused them all to be bound and imprisoned. These things were no sooner known, but the multitude were enflamed with anger; and believing they might force that to be done with Arms in their hands, which Disarmed they could not obtain, with Tumult, rage, and fury they Armed themselves, and made ready to assail the Lords.

Michael
wounds
and impris-
ons the
peoples
Messen-
gers.

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On the other side, *Michael* foreseeing what would happen, determined to prevent it, and judging it more for his Honour to assault others, then stay for his Enemy within the Palace Walls, and be forced like his Predecessors, with dishonour to the place, and shame to himself to fly, He gathers together a great number of Citizens, who were already come flocking thither, sensible now of their former errors, and mounting on Horse-back, followed by many men at armes, goes to *St. Maria Novella* to fight his Enemy. The Rabble who (as we said before) had made the same resolves at the same time that *Michael* parted from the Palace, were advancing towards it, and it happened so, that taking several waies they met not one the other: whereupon *Michael* turning back, found the *Piazza* possessed, and that they were endeavouring to take the Palace; and engaging with them, after a hot skirmish he routs them, drives some of them out of the City, and the rest forces to throw down their Arms, and run and hide themselves. This Victory obtained, the Tumults were appeased by the sole valour of the *Gonfaloniere*; who for Courage, Prudence and Honesty, exceeded all the Citizens of his time, and deserves to be Chronicled among those few that were serviceable and Beneficial to their Country: For had he had either a dishonest or Ambitious mind, the Common-wealth had utterly lost it's Liberty, and fallen under a much worse Tyranny, than that of the Duke

And routs
the rabble.

Michael
Landò's
commen-
dations.

Duke of Athens. But his goodness would not permit a thought in his Breast contrary to the publick good, and by his prudence he governed things so, that most of his Party had confidence in him, and the rest he by force could quell: which put the *Plebeians* in fear, and made the better sort of Tradesmen bethink themselves, and consider how great their Ignorance had been, that they who had tamed the Pride of the Nobles, were become supporters of the scum of the people. When *Michael* gained this victory over the Rabble, the new Lords were already drawn; whereof two were of such vile and abject quality, that it begot a desire in all men to free themselves from this Infamy. And on the first day of *September*, when the new Lords were to enter upon the Magistracy, the place being full of Armed men, as soon as the *Old Lords* were come out of the Palace, a Cry was raised among the Armed men, in a tumultuous manner, that they would not have any of the *Plebeians* Lords. Whereupon the Signory, to satisfy them, deprived those two of the Magistracy; of which, one was called *Tyra*; and the other *Baroccio*, in whose places, *Messer George Scali*, and *Francis Michael* were chosen: They annulled likewise the Corporations of the meaner sort of people, and from those under them (except *Michael di Lando*, and *Lewis Puccio*, and some others of better Quality) took all manner of Offices. The Honours they divided into two parts; Whereof, one to the Greater,

Greater, and the other to the Lesser Trades, was consigned: Only of the Lords, they would always have five of the meaner Artificers, and four of the greater Trades; and the *Gonfaloniere*, sometimes of one and sometimes of another. The Government thus settled, put the City in a present posture of Quiet. And though the Government was taken out of the hands of the Rabble, yet did the Mechanicks of meaner Quality remain Superior in power to the Citizens of higher degree; to which, these were constrained to submit to take away from the loose Multitude the favour of the Handicrafts, by so contenting them; which was likewise favoured by those who desired, that they should be afflicted, who under the Name of the *Guelph* Faction had so much tormented the City: And, because among the Favourers of this sort of Government, *Messer George Scali*, *Messer Bennet Alberti*, *Messer Silvester Medici*, and *Messer Thomas Strozzi*, were the Chief; they seemed, in a manner, as Princes of the City. These things thus managed and Governed; the Division between the Prime Citizens, and Merchants of meaner Trades (begun by the Ambition of the *Ricci* and *Albizi*) was confirmed, which produced, in several times afterwards, sad effects; of which, because we shall have occasion hereafter often to make mention, we will call one the *Popular* Faction, and the other the *Plebeian* (as, for the most part, hitherto, we have observed

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The Popular and Plebeian Factions.

to do.) This Government lasted three years, and was much perplexed with Deaths and Banishment; for those that Governed, because of the many Male-contents within and without, lived in very great Jealousie. The Male-contents within, were still attempting, or at least, the Government believed they were attempting, some Novelty. Those without, having nothing to restrain them, sometimes by means of that Prince, and sometimes of this Commonwealth, dispersed and sowed Sedition, sometimes in one Party, and sometimes in another. There was at this time in *Bolonia*, *Gianazzo* of *Salerno*, Commander of the Forces under *Charles* of *Durazzo* of the Blood Royal of *Naples*; who designing an expedition against Queen *Joane*, this his General, was by the favour of Pope *Urban*, (an Enemy to the Queen) admitted into that City. There were then at *Bolonia* many that had fled out of *Florence*, who kept a strict Correspondence both with him and *Charles*: Upon which account, those who Governed *Florence* lived in the greater Jealousie, and with ease, believed any Calumnies, raised of the Citizens they suspected. Whilst the minds of men were in this Fear, and Suspension, was discovered to the Magistracy, how *Gianazzo de Salerno* was designed to present himself before *Florence*, with those that were fled out, and that many within were to take Arms in their behalf, and surrender to them the City. Upon this

A Conspiracy
revealed.

this Accusation, many were accused; for the principal of which were nominated *Peter Albizzi*, and *Charles Strozzi*, and next them *Capriani Mangion*, *Messer Jacopo Sacchetti*, *Messer Donato Barbadori*, *Philip Strozzi*, and *John Asselmini*. All which (except *Charles Strozzi* that fled) were taken; and the Lords, to the end none should take Arms, in their Favour deputed *Messer Thomas Strozzi*, and *Messer Benet Alberti*, with a sufficient number of Souldiers, to have the Guard of the City. These Citizens thus taken, though upon any Testimony or Circumstances, they could not be found Guilty, insomuch that the Captain would by no means Condemn them; Yet their Enemies in such manner stirred up the People, and moved them to so much Rage and Madness against them, that they forced Sentence of Death to be passed upon them. Nor did the greatness of his Family any thing avail *Peter Albizzi*; Nor that Antient reputation of his, which had once made him feared and Honoured, above any other Citizens of *Florence*; And had once perswaded a certain Citizen, whose Guest he was at a great Invitation, either, As his Friend, to oblige him to a more kind, humble deportment in such a height of Greatness; or As his Enemy, to threaten him with the volatility of Fortune, to send him a silver Cupfull of *Confetti*, under which, he had hid a great Iron Spike; which, being discovered, and seen by the rest of the Guests, was in-

Several
Nobles
and prime
Citizens
Accused.

Condemned and
Executed.

terpreted as an Admonition to him, to stop and fix the Wheel; for Fortune having brought him to the very top of it, it was impossible, if it continued its Circle and Carcer, but he must fall to the very bottom: which Interpretation, first by his Ruine, and afterwards by his Death, was fully verified. After this Execution, the City remained full of Confusion, for both the Conquerours and Conquered stood in doubt: but, the most malignant Effects were produced from the Fears of those that Governed; for every slight Accident made them afflict with new Injuries the suspected Party, either Condemning, or Admonishing, or sending their Citizens into Banishment; to which may be added, the making New Laws for support and strengthening of their Government: All which things were prosecuted vvith Injustice and Injury to those, their Faction had any Jealousie of; so vvith end, they created a Council of XLVI, who, together with the Lords, vvere to purge the State of suspected Persons. These Admonished XXXIX Citizens, and many People they made Noble, and many Nobles they degraded. And, to enable them to withstand any Forraign Power, they took into their pay Sir *John Hawkwood*, an English man, of great Reputation in Arms and, who had formerly made War in Italy under the Pope, and other Princes. The Reason of their Fears from abroad, arose from the Intelligence they had, that several

Sir John
Hawkwood
hired by
the Floren-
sines.

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Companies of Men at Arms, drawn together by *Charles* of *Durazzo*, in order to his Expedition against *Naples*, were in a readiness, and that great numbers of Banished *Florentines* were joyned vvith them: To oppose vvith Dangers, besides the Forces they had levied, they provided themselves with mony: And *Charles*, at his coming to *Arezzo*, received from the *Florentines* 40000 *Ducats*, upon promise not to molest them. After which, he pursued his Expedition, and happily possessed himself of the Kingdom of *Naples*, sending Queen *Joan* prisoner into *Hungary*. Which success of his, bred new Jealousies in those vvho managed the State of *Florence*; for they could not believe, their Mony could have such power over the King, as to stifle that Ancient Friendship his Family had alwaies born to the *Guelph* Party, whom they had vvith so many Injuries oppressed. And this Jealousie increaling, Injuries increased vvith it, which did not extinguish but enflame it, so that most part of the City lived under great anxiety and Tribulation; To which, the Insolencies of *George Scali*, and *Thomas Strozzi* contributed, vvho vvith their Authority over-awed the Magistracy, every one standing in fear, least by the *Plébeians* favour they might be by them oppressed; for their Government, not pply to Good men, but even to the Seditious, appeared violent and Tyrannical. But that the Insolency of *George* might one day come to

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an end, It happened that *John de Cambiq* accused a Fellow Citizen, of having held Intelligence against the State; but the Party being found Innocent by the Captain, the Judge would have inflicted the same punishment upon the Accuser, which the Accused had been liable to, had he been found Guilty; and when Messer George could neither by his power nor prayers prevail for his pardon, he, with Messer *Thomas Strozzi*, went with a great multitude of Armed Men, and by force delivered him, sacking the Palace of the Captain, and constraining him (to save his life) to fly and hide himself. Which Action begot such a Hatred in the whole City against him, that his Enemies thought they might easily crush him, and not only deliver the City out of his hands, but out of the hands of the *Plebeians*, who, for three years past, had subjected it to their Arrogance. To which, the Captain gave a fair opportunity, who going to the Lords, as soon as the Tumult was over, told them: *That he had willingly undertaken that Office, to which their Lordships had Elected him, because he thought he was to serve Just men, who would take up Arms in Defence, and not in Opposition of Justice: but now, having had experience of the Government of the City, and its manner of living, That Dignity he had readily embraced, out of hopes to gain Honour, Safety, and Advantage, he as readily laid down, to avoid Shame, Danger, and Damage.* The Captain was encour-

encouraged by the Lords to continue in his Charge, who heartned him with Promises of Recompence for past Losses; and Security for the future; and withdrawing a part of them, they privately consulted with some others of the Citizens; whom they knew lovers of their Country, and who lay not under the least Suspicions of State; with whom they Concluded, That a good Opportunity was offered to free the City out of the hands of Messer George, and the *Plebeians*; the Generality being by this last Insolence utterly alienated from him. Wherefore they thought it best to make use of it, before the Angry minds of the People were settled; for they knew the Favour of the Multitude was won and lost by every little Accident: Judging it withal necessary, for the Management of the Affair, to draw Messer *Enedetto Alberti* to their Party, without whose consent they thought the Enterprize too Hazardous. Messer *Bennet* was very Rich, Just, Kind, and a lover of the Liberty of his Country, and a Disaffecter of all Tyrannical waies: So, that it was no difficult matter to gain him to condescend to the ruine of Messer George, because the Reasons which had made him an Enemy to the Prime of the People, and to the Faction of the *Guelphs*, were only their Insolencies and Tyrannical Demeanour. And now, finding the Chiefs of the *Plebeians* were grown like them, he had for sometime discontinued Acting with

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them, and the Injuries vvhich had been done to many Citizens, were utterly without his Consent and Advice. Messer Bennet, and the Masters of the Trades, thus drawn to their Party, they provided themselves of Arms, and Messer George vvvas taken, but Messer Thomas fled: And the next day George vvvas Beheaded, vvith so much Terrour to his Party, that not a man durst stir to rescue him; rather every one run to gaze at his fall: Whereupon, he seeing himself brought to Die before that People, vvho but a vvhile before adored him, he complained of his ill Fortune, and accused the Frowardness of the Citizens, vvhich had forced him to comply with, and honour a Multitude, who never vvvere capable of Gratitude, And seeing Messer Bennet Alberti among the Armed men, he said to him: *And can you, Mr. Bennet, consent that this Injury be done to me, which I would never have permitted to be done to you? But I pronounce this end of my Misery, to be the beginning of yours.* And vvith these Repinings he dyed, in the midst of his Armed Enemies, who rejoyced at his fall. Some of his neerest Friends were soon after put to Death, and some torn in pieces by the People. The fall of this Citizen disquieted the whole City; for many at his Execution had taken up Arms in favour of the Signory and Captain of the People; and many others out of Ambition, or private Jealousie. And, because the City vvvas full of

Messer
George
Scall Be-
headed.

Divisions
in the Ci-
ty, taking
occasion
from his
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on.

differing

differing Factions, they all had different ends, and each desired before they laid down Arms, to accomplish them. The Ancient Nobility, called *Grandeas*, (and so we shall hereafter call them in distinction from the New Nobles of the people) could not support or endure their being deprived of all Honours, and therefore by all possible vvayes applied themselves to the recovery of them. They therefore Armed themselves, to restore the Authority to the Captains of the Wards or Divisions: the Nobles of the People, and the Prime Trades were dissatisfied to share the Government vvith the meaner Tradesmen, and Rabble of *Plebeian*. On the other side, The Inferiour Trades, sought rather to add to, than suffer their power to diminish, and the Rabble feared to lose their new Corporations: from which Differences there arose many Tumults in Florence in a years space: sometimes the Grandeas took Arms, sometimes the Popular Nobles, sometimes the Inferiour Trades, and vvith them the loose Multitude; and many times, in divers parts of the Town, all of them were in Arms at once: vvhereupon, happened several Skirmishes between them and the Guards of the Palace; for the Senate sometimes yielding, and sometimes fighting, strove all the vvayes they could to remedy so many Inconveniencies: Infomuch, that after two Parliaments and more, * *Balia's* created to Reform the City. After many Losses, Labours,

* A select
Magistra-
cy vvith full
Authority.

1381. bours, and grievous Dangers, they established a Government, by which, all those which had been confined, since *Silvester Medicus* was *Gonfaloniere*, were restored; they took away all Priviledges and preheminencies which had been granted by the *Balia* in 1377. Restored the *Guelph* faction to all Dignities, and honours; Took away from the New trades their Corporations, and government; distributing them among the Companies they were formerly placed under. They removed from the Inferiour Trades the choice of the *Gonfaloniere* of Justice, and from one half reduced them to a third Share of Dignities, and those of the highest quality they made them altogether incapable of. Whereby, the Faction of the popular Nobles of the *Guelphs* reassumed the Authority, and the *Plebeians*, who had been the chief Managers of the state, from the year 1378, to the year 1381, when this Novelty happened, lost it. Nor was this Government less impious to the Citizens, nor less hurtful in its foundations than that of the *Plebeians* had been. For many popular Nobles who had stirred in the defence of that, and many of the heads of the *Plebeians* were confined, among whom was *Michael di Lando*, who, all the benefit his Authority had been Author of, when the unbridled Multitude Licentiously ruined the City, could not preserve him from the rage of this Faction, so ungrateful was his Country to him for all his good Offices: Into which Errour, because

Princes

Princes and Commonwealths many times fall, it occasions that men terrified with such kind of Examples, no sooner begin to grow sensible of their princes ingratitude, but they study how to offend them. These Banishments and Executions, as they alwayes displeased, so now they afflicted the Spirit of *Messer Bennet Alberti*, who publickly, and privately, condemned them: Whereupon the Prime men concerned in the Government, feared him; for they esteemed him one of the Principal Friends of the *Plebeians*, and believed, he had consented to the death of *Messer George Scali*, not out of any dislike to his manners, but that he might remain without Competitor in the Government; both his words and Works added afterwards fuel to this Jealousie; So that all the Faction in power turned their eyes towards him, to watch an opportunity of oppressing him. Whilst they stood upon these Terms within, Affaires abroad were not very difficult; by that which follows the people were more scared than hurt; for about this time *Lewis* of *Anjou* came into *Italy* to restore the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Queen Joan*, and drive out *Charles of Durazzo*: His passing by put the *Florentines* in great fear, for *Charles*, as is usual among old friends desired their Assistance; and *Lewis* desired, (as it is Customary with those who seek New Alliances,) they would stand Neuter. Whereupon, the *Florentines*, to make a shew of satisfying *Lewis*, and helping *Charles*, dis-

Lewis of Anjou passing to Naples frights the Florentines.

dismissed Sr. *John Hawkwood* from their Service, and sent him to *Pope Urban*, who was *Charles* his friend; which Cheat was easily discovered by *Lewis*, who highly resented this injury of the *Florentines*. And whilst the War between *Lewis* and *Charles* was maintained in *Apulia*, there came fresh succours to *Lewis* out of *France*, who arriving in *Toscany*, were by the Banished *Aretines* brought into *Arezzo*; which sided with those who governed for *Charles*. But as they were deligning to Change the Government of *Florence*, as they had done that of *Arezzo*, happened the death of *Lewis*; and Affairs in *Apulia* and *Toscany* changed countenance; for *Charles* secured himself of the Kingdom, he had almost lost, and the *Florentines*, who were almost doubtful of being able to defend *Florence*, got *Arezzo* buying it of those people which held it for *Lewis*, *Charles* having thus settled *Apulia* goes for *Hungary*, fallen to him by Hereditary Succession, leaving his wife in *Apulia*, with *Ladislaws* and *Joan*, his Children; of whom, more in due Season. *Charles* gained *Hungary*, but was soon after Slain; there were solemn Feasts kept in *Florence* for this Success, so that never City rejoiced more at their own Victories: Here as well the private as publick Magnificence appeared; for many Families in their Feastings strove to vye with the publick: But they which in pomp and Magnificence exceeded all others, were the family of the *Alberti*; For the Feasts and Tournaments

They get
Arezzo

ments made by them, seem'd rather becoming a mighty Prince, than a private Family: which joyning Envy to the Jealousy the state before had of *Messer Bennet*, was the cause of his ruin: For those who were in power could not be satisfied with him, imagining every minute some opportunity might happen, to make him with the favour of the factions, regain his Reputation, and drive them out of the City. And whilst they were in these doubts, it happened, that he being *Gonfaloniere* of the Companies, there was drawn for *Gonfaloniere* of Justice, *Messer Philip Magolotti* his son in law, which redoubled the fear of the Heads of the state, judging it added too much Power to *Messer Bennet*, and exposed the State to too much danger. And desirous to remedy it without Tumult, they encouraged *Bese Magolotti*, his Consort and Enemy, to signify to the Lords, that *Messer Philip* not being yet arrived at the Age required, to exercise that degree, could not obtain it. The matter was examined before the Lords, and part out of Hatred, and the rest not to give Offence, voted *Messer Philip* incapable of that Dignity; and in his stead was chosen *Bardo Mancini*, a man quite averse to the *Plebeian* Faction, and an utter Enemy to *Messer Benedetto*: Inasmuch, that as soon as he was settled in his Magistracy he called a *Balia*, who, in supervising and reforming the state, Banished *Messer Benedetto Alberti*, and Admonished all the rest of the family, except *Messer Anthony*.

*Messer
Bennet Al-
berti* ban-
nished.

His speech
to his con-
sorts be-
fore his
departure.

ny. Messer Benner before his departure, called together all his Consorts and Friends, and feeling them sad and full of tears told them: You see (my good Lords, and Fathers) how Fortune has oppressed me, and threatens you; neither am I startled at it, nor ought you to wonder; for it ever happens thus to men, who, among a great many Wicked, strive to be Good, or would support what many seek to destroy. Love of my Country made me joyn with Sylvester Medici; and fall off from George Scali; and the very same thing made me hate the Customes of those that now Rule, who, being above chastisement, have scorned Reproof. And I am content with my Banishment, to free them from the fear they had not of me only, but of all that they know are sensible of their Wicked and Tyrannical Government. I am not molested nor vexed at it; for those Honours my Country, when free, gave me, the servant cannot take away; and I shall always find more Delight in the memory of my past life, then the infelicity of my Exile can bring of displeasure. It grieves me indeed, that my Country should become a prey to a few, and be forced to submit to their Tyranny, and Avarice: And I am grieved for you, because I fear that those Evils which this day end in me, will begin in you, and that they will persecute you with greater Tyranny then they have persecuted me. Resolve with your selves therefore, to bear a mind stedfast against all Misfortunes, and carry your selves so, that if any adversity befall you (as much certainly will) the World may

may know you Innocent, and that by any fault of yours, you have not deserved it. After this leave taken, to gain as much Reputation of Goodness abroad as he had done at home, he went to visit the Holy Sepulchre, and in his return thence dyed at Rhodes. During these Distempers, the Family of the Alberti was not alone affronted and injured, but many other Citizens were Admonished, and Banished; among vvhom were Potter Benini, Matthew Alderotti, John and Francis de Bene, John Benet, Andrew Adimari, and with these a great number of Mechanicks. Those that were Admonished were the Cononi, Benini, Rimicov, Formicani, Corbizi, Manelli, and Alderotti. It was Customary to create the Balla for an assixed time; but those Citizens having done what they were deputed for, thought it decent, though the time were not expired, to Resign. These men therefore, having, as they thought, satisfied the State, would, according to Custom, have resigned: vvhich, the Multitude understanding, ran Armed to the Palace, desiring, that before they resigned, many others might be Banished, and Admonished; which highly displeased the Lords, vvho entertained them with fair Promises till they had gathered strength sufficient, and then made them, for Fear, lay down those Arms, which fury had made them take up: yet, to satistie a little this raging Humour, and to moderate the Power of the Plebeians, they enacted, That whereas they

He dies at
Rhodes.

War with
Milan.

they had a third part of the Honours, they should only have a Fourth: And that there might alwaies be in the Signory Two men stedfast to the State, they gave Authority to the *Gonfaloniere* of Justice, and to Four other Citizens to make Purfes of Chosen, pickt men, whereof two to be drawn for every Signory. The Government thus settled, six years after it was first Ordained, vvvhich vvvas in the year 1381, the City lived in great quietness within it self, till the year 1393; during which time, *John Galeazzo Visconti*, called the Count of *Virtue*, having slain Messer *Barnaby* his Uncle, and by that means become Prince of all *Lombardy*, thought he might by Force become King of all *Italy*, as he had, by Treachery, made himself Duke of *Milan*. And in the year 1390, waged a brisk war with the *Florentines*, which in the Management was so variable, that oftentimes was the Duke himself in Danger, and oftentimes upon the point of destroying the *Florentines*, who had certainly, had he lived, been lost; though they made a stout defence, and to be admired at for a Common-wealth. And the end proved as advantagious as the War had been Dreadful: For when the Duke had taken *Bolonia*, *Pisa*, *Perugia*, and *Siena*, and had made ready a Crown to Crown himself King of *Italy*, in *Florence*, he Dyed: Death not suffering him to enjoy his past Victories; nor the *Florentines* to feel their present losses. Whilst this War was

on

on foot with the Duke, Messer *Maso Albizi*, whom the Death of *Peter* had made an Enemy to the House of *Alberti*, was drawn for *Gonfaloniere* of Justice: And the humours of the Factions being still kept awake, *Maso* (though *Bennet* was dead in Exile) determined, before he laid down the Magistracy, to revenge himself on the rest of that Family; and took the opportunity from one, who, being examined about Intelligence held with the Enemy, named *Albert*, and *Andrew Alberti*. These were presently taken, at which all the City grew Angry; whereupon the Senate Arming, called a Parliament of the People, and Constituted a *Balia*, whereby many Citizens were Banished, and new Imborsation for Choice of Officers made. Amongst the Banished were almost all the *Alberti*: there were likewise many of the *Mechanicks* admonished, and put to Death; whereupon, incensed by so many Injuries, the Multitude took Arms, that they might no longer behold their Honours and Lives thus taken away. Part of them came into the *Piazza*, and another part flockt to the House of Messer *Veri de Medici*, who, after the death of *Silvester*, remained Head of that Family: to those which came into the *Piazza*, the Lords, to lull them asleep, gave them for their Heads [with the Ensigns of the *Guelphs*, and the People in their hands] Messer *Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo*, and Messer *Donato Acciaivoli*, men above any other of the popular Party,

The Rab-
ble sic to
Arms.

Ecc

grate-

grateful to the *Plbeians*. Those who went to the House of *Veri de Medici*; beg'd, He would be pleased to accept the Government, and free them from the Tyranny of those Citizens, who were Destroyers of all Good men, and perverters of the Commonweal. All that have made any Record of these Times agree, that had Messer *Veri* been as Ambitious as he was Good, he might in this Conjunction, without any hindrance, have made himself Prince of the City: For the heavy loads, that were right or wrong, laid upon the Inferiour Mechanicks, and their Friends, had so enflamed their Souls to Revenge, that they wanted nothing to satisfy their desires, but a Head to Lead them: Nor wanted there some to put Messer *Veri* in mind what he might do; for *Antonio de Medici*, who had long before had some particular Animosities against him, advised him to accept of the Dominion of the City, to which Messer *Veri*, made Answer, *As thy Threatnings, when my Enemy, made me not afraid; neither shall thy Counsels, as my Friend, abuse me.* And turning towards the Multitude, he exhorted them to be of good-heart, for he would be their Defender, if they would be advised by him: And going in the midst of them into the *Piazza*, and from thence, up the Palace to the Lords, he spoke to them in this manner: *That he had no reason to be troubled, that he had lived in such a manner that the People of Florence loved him; but*

it

it grieved him, that they had an opinion of him, which his past life had not deserved: for, having never made appear any symptoms of being Factious or Ambitious, he knew not from whence it proceeded, that they should imagine him a fomentor of Sedition, like an Unquiet man, or an Usurper of Government, as one Ambitious. He therefore prayed their Lordships, That the Ignorance of the Multitude should not be imputed as a Crime to him, for that he had, as far as possible he could, brought them under their Power: Remembring them withal, That they should use their Fortune moderately, and rather choose a small Victory with the safety of the City, than an intire one with its Ruine. Messer *Veri* was prayed by the Lords, and exhorted to make them lay down their Arms, and that afterwards they would not fail to do what He and other Citizens should advise them: Upon which, returning to the *Piazza*, and his Brigade being joyned with those led by Messer *Riyaldo*, and Messer *Donato*, he told them all: That he had found in the Lords an excellent disposition to do them good; that many things had been spoken of to that purpose, but by reason of the shortness of the time, and the absence of the Magistrates could not yet be concluded. In the mean time he prayed them to lay down their Arms, and Obey the Lords: giving them his word, that Gentleness rather than Pride, and Prayers rather than Threats would move them, and that they should not want either Honour or Safety, if

F e e e

they

they would be rul'd by him. Inſomuch, that upon his word they all returned to their Houſes. Arms thus by them laid down, the *Signory* firſt Armed the *Piazza*, and then liſted Two thouſand Citizens faithful to the State, and divided them equally under Banners; giving Command, that they ſhould be in a readineſs, whenever they were called to their Aſſiſtance, and forbidding all that were not Liſted to Arm themſelves. Theſe Preparations made, they Confined, Banished, and put to Death many of the Mechanicks, of thoſe who had ſhewed themſelves forwardſt in the laſt Tumult. And, becauſe the *Gonſaloniere* of Juſtice ſhould have more Majeſty and Reputation, they ordered, That none under 45 years of Age ſhould exerciſe that Office. To ſortifie the State, they likewiſe made other proviſions, inſupportable to thoſe againſt whom they were enacted, and by all honeſt Citizens, even of their own Party, abhorred; for they judged no State ſafe or ſecure, that was to be defended with ſo much Violence. And, not only thoſe of the *Alberti*, who remained in the City, but the *Medici*, who lookt upon themſelves as Deceivers of the People; and many others, were extreamly afflicted at it. And, the firſt that ſought to oppoſe it was Meſſer *Donato di Jacopo Acciaivoli*. This Gentleman, though he were very Great in the City, and rather Superiour than Companion to Meſſer *Maſo Albizi*; who for the things

things done in the time of his being *Gonſaloniere*, was lookt upon as it were, Head of the Republick, could not live well ſatiſfied among ſo many Male-contents, nor make (as many do) a private Benefit of the publick Damage; he therefore determined to make tryal if he could reſtore the Exiles to their Country, or at leaſt, the Admoniſhed to their Degrees. And he went about whiſpering in the Ears of ſeveral Citizens, this his Opinion; demonſtrating how there was no other way to quiet the People, and purge the humours of the Factions; Nor ſtayed he for any thing, but to be drawn for one of the *Lords* to put this his deliberation in practice: And, becauſe in all our Actions *Delay* ſeems tedious, and *Hate* is dangerous, he grew inclinable to avoid tediousneſs to hazard the danger. There were of the *Lords*, *Michael Acciaivoli* his Conſort, and *Nicholas Ricoveri* his Friend; Whereupon Meſſer *Donato* thought, that having ſuch an Opportunity he ought not to loſe it, but deſired them to propoſe a Law to the Councils containing the Reſtitution of the Citizens; they perſwaded by him ſpoke to their Companions, by vvhom they were Answered, That they were not to propoſe new things vvherein the Succeſs was dubious, and the Danger certain. Whereupon Meſſer *Donato* having firſt in vain tryed all other vvaies, told them in Anger, That ſince they would not accept the offer made, to Reform the City quietly, it ſhould be

See; do e

done by Arms. These Words so much displeased them, that Communicating them to the Heads of the Government, Messer Donato vvas Cited, and appearing, was by those, by vvhom he had delivered the Embassy, Convicted, and thereupon Confined to *Burretta. Alaman*, and *Anthony Medici*, with all of that Family descended from Messer *Alaman*, were likewise Banished, together vvith many ignoble Mechanicks, but of Credit among the People: which things happened two years after the Government had been Controuled by Messer *Maso*. The City being in this posture, vvith many Male-contents vvithin, and many Banished men abroad, there happened to be among the Exiles at *Bolonia*, *Picobio Cavicciulli*, *Thomas de Ricci*, *Antonio de Medici*, *Bennet Spini*, *Anthony Girolami*, *Christopher Carlone*, vvith two other of mean Condition, all Young men, Couragious, and ready to Attempt any thing to return into their own Country: to them secret Intelligence vvas given by *Piggiello*, and *Baronio Cavicciulli*, vvho lived Admonished in *Florence*, That if they vvould come into the City, they vvould privily receive them into their Houses, from vvhence, making a Sally, they might kill *Maso de Albizzi*, and call the People to Arms; vvho being discontented, vvould be ready to take the Alarm, especially, since they knew they should be seconded by the *Ricci*, *Adnicari*, *Medici*, *Mannelli*, and many

ny other Families. Hartned with this hope, on the fourth of *August*, 1397, they came into *Florence*, and being privily entered, as they were appointed, They sent about to observe Messer *Maso*, resolving with his death to begin the Tumult; Messer *Maso* comes out of his House, and stops at an Apothecaries, neer great *St. Peters*: *Corso*, who had the Charge of watching him, informes the Conspirators, vvho presently taking Arms, came to the place, but he was gone. However, not daunted for having failed in this first design, they turned towards the old Market, and killed one of the Adverse party, and thereupon giving the Alarm, Cryed out to the people to Arms, *Liberty, Liberty; and let the Tyrants dye*. Thence turning towards the new Market, at the end of the street *Calimaza*, they slew another; And following with the same Cryes their way, and none taking Arms, they retreated to the Hall *Nighittosa*; where getting on a high place, and having a great multitude about them, vvho came rather to see them than to assist them, they cryed out to the People with loud voices to Arm, and free themselves from that Servitude which was so hateful to them, affirming that the oppression and grief of the Male-contents of the City, rather than any particular Injury done to themselves, had moved them to attempt their Delivery. And that having heard, that many of them prayed to God to give them an opportunity of revenging themselves, vvich

Some of
the *Bandi-
ti* enter
Florence,
1397.

they would be ready to do whenever they had a Head to lead them, they much wondred that having now Heads to lead and defend them, They stood like men amazed, waiting till those that came to give them Freedom were put to Death, and their slavery redoubled: That it was strange, that they, who upon the smallest Injury, were wont to fly to their Arms, could now suffer so many of their Citizens to be Banished, and so many Admonished, and not at all be moved, when it was in their Power and Arbitriment, to restore the Exiles to their Country, and the Admonished to their Dignities. All which words, though true, did not one jot move the Multitude; either because they were Fearful, or because the Death of those two had made the Murthers odious; So that the Deligners of this Tumult, seeing neither their Words, nor Deeds would move any one of the Multitude, too late perceiving how dangerous it is to stir up a people to Liberty, who are determined to Serve, despairing of any success in their Enterprize, they retreated into the Church of St. Reparata, where they shut themselves up, not to save their Lives, but delay their Death. The Lords troubled at the first Rumour had Armed, and lock'd up the Palace; but when they heard the business, and understood who they were that moved this Disturbance, and where they were shut up, they were again well assured, and sent the Captains with many Armed men to take them: So, that without much trouble

trouble the Church-doors were broke open, and part of them, defending themselves, slain, and part taken; who being examined, there was none other found guilty, but Barrovio, and Pigiello, Canicciulli, who together with them were put to Death. After this accident fell out one of greater importance. The City had in these Times, as we said before, Wars with the Duke of Milan, who perceiving open Force did not suffice to oppress it, had recourse to policy, and by the means of some banished Florentines (of which all Lombardy was full) contrived a plot, to which many within were privy; in which it was agreed, That on a certain day, from the places most adjacent to Florence, a great Number of the Banditi, Skil'd in Arms, should by the River Arno enter the City, and running first (accompanied with their Friends within) to the houses of the Chief Ministers of State, kill them, and Reform the State as they pleased: Among the Conspirators within was one of the Ricci, called Sammiato, and as it generally happens in Conspiracies, That a few will not do, and a great many discover it, whilst Sammiato strove to pick up Companions, he found an Answer; he revealed the matter to Silvester Caviaciulli, whom he thought the Injuries of his Friends would have made faithful; but present Fear wrought more upon him than future Hopes, so that he went and discovered the whole plot to the Lords; who causing Sammiato to be taken, forced him by torments

Another
Conspira-
cy.

torments to declare the whole particulars of the design; but of the Conspirators, not one was taken but *Thomas Davisi*, who coming from *Bolonia*, not knowing what had happened in *Florence*, vvas as soon as he Arrived, laid hold on: All the rest, upon the apprehending of *Saminiato*, affrighted, fled. *Saminiato* and *Thomas* punished according to their deserts. The *Balia* of severall Citizens vvas constituted vwith Authority, to make Inquisition after Delinquents, and secure the state: They made Rebels six of the Family of *Ricci*, six of the *Alberti*, two of the *Medici*, three of the *Scali*, two of the *Strozzi*, *Bindi Altoviti*, *Barnard Admiari*, and many Trades-men. They Admonished likewise all the families of *Alberti*, *Ricci*, and *Medici*, for ten years, excepting some few of them: and among those of the *Alberti*, Messer *Antonio* was not Admonished, being looked upon as a Peaceable man. It happened, that the fear and jealousie of this Plot not being yet quite blown over, there was a Monk taken, who had been observed, whilst the Conspirators were contriving their Busineses to go often to and again from *Bolonia* to *Florence*: He Confessed that he had brought severall Letters to Messer *Antonio*; whereupon he was presently taken, and though from first to last he denied it, he was Convicted by the Monk, fined in a Sum of Money, and Banished to three hundred miles distance from the City. And, because the

Alberti

A *Balia*
Constituted.

Alberti daily put the State to trouble, they Banished all of that Family above fifteen years of Age. This Accident happened in the year 1400, and two years afterwards 1400. dyed *John Galeazzo Duke of Milan*, whose Death (as we said before) put an end to that War which had lasted twelve years: In which time, the Government having got more Authority, being now without Enemies abroad or at home, made that glorious Attempt upon *Pisa*, which they bravely won, and remained quiet within themselves till the year 1433: Only, in the year 1412 the 1412. *Alberti*, having broke their Confinement, a New *Balia* was set up against them, who with new Laws, and Provisions, strengthened the State, and persecuted the *Alberti* with the Sword. About that time likewise, began a War with *Ladislaus King of Naples*, which in the year 1416 ended with the life of that King; and the King having at first in that War the worst of it, yeilded to the *Florentines* the City of *Cortona*, of which he was Lord; but a little after, recruiting his Forces, he renewed the War, which proved more dangerous than the first; and had it not ended with his death, as did that with the Duke of *Milan*, the King had brought *Florence* in no less danger of losing her Liberty, than did the Duke. Nor did this War with the King end with less good Fortune than the other; for, when he had took *Rome*, *Siena*, all *la Marca*, and *Romagnia*, and wanted nothing but

Florence

War with
Ladislaus
King of
Naples,
1416.

Florence to open a way for his Forces to march into Lombardy. And thus, Death was to the Florentines a better Friend than any other they had, and more fortunate in saving them than all their Valour. After the death of this King, the City was quiet within and without, for Eight years. At the end of which time, together with a War against Philip Duke of Milan, the Factions sprung up anew, and were never appeased till the ruine of that State, which, from the year 1361, to the year 1434, had reigned, and with so much Glory waged so many important Wars, adding to their Dominions, *Arezzo, Pisa, Cortona, Livorno, and Montepulciano*. And greater things had they done if the City had kept themselves United, and had not again stirred up the Ancient Humours, as in the next Book shall be more particularly related.

The End of the Third Book.

T H E

T H E
FLORENTINE
HISTORY,

Written by
Nicholas Machiavel.

BOOK IV.



ITIES, and especially those which are well ordered (and whose Administration is, by way of Republick) often alter their State and Government, not by distinction of Liberty and Servitude (as many think,) but of Servitude and Licentiousness; for Liberty is only a Name, revered indeed by all, but Licentiousness is the
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the thing esteemed by the Chief of the People, and their Servitude fought for by the Nobles: They all being infected with an Ambition, which would not willingly be subjected either to the Laws of God or Man. True it is, that when there happens (which is very rare) by the good Fortune of a City, that a good, wise, and powerful Citizen attains to the Command, who will ordain such Laws as may either quiet (or, at least, restrain from doing Mischief) these Humours in Nobles and People; then such a City may be truly called Free, and that Government firm and lasting: For being founded on good Laws, and sound Ordinances, there is not so much necessity afterwards of any mans particular Virtue to maintain them. With such Laws and Ordinances have many Ancient Commonwealths (whose Governments were long-liv'd) been endowed. And such Laws and Orders have ever been, and still are, wanting in those who are ever and anon varying their States from Licentious to Tyrannical. For in such, by reason of the powerful Friends on one side, and the other, there can be no steadfastness; one being unpleasant to Good men, and the other to the Wise; one may easily do Ill, and the other can very hardly do Well; in the one, Insolent men have too much Authority, and in the other, Fools: and it is not only requisite, but necessary, that both the one and the other be maintained by the Virtue or Fortune

Fortune

Fortune of one man; by whose Death it may either dwindle to nothing, or by his continual Adversity prove unprofitable. I say therefore, that the Government, which in the Year 1381, had beginning (in *Florence*) from the Death of Messer George Stabli, proceeded first from the Valour of Messer Maso de gli Albizi, and afterwards by that of Nicholas Uzano was maintained. The City lived from the year 1414, to the year 1422, very quietly; for King Ladislaus dead, and the State of Lombardy divided into several parts, there was nothing, either within or without, of which they stood in fear. Next to Nicholas de Uzano, the chief Citizens of Authority were, Bartholomeno Valore, Nero Nigi, Messer Reinold Albizi, Neri di Gino, and Lapo Nicholini. The Factions raised by the Discords between the Albizi and the Ricci, were afterwards with so much Scandal revived by Messer Silvester de Medici, that nothing could suppress or quiet them: And though that which was universally favoured, Ruled only three years, and in the year 1381 was vanquished; yet, the greater part of the City being infected with that Humour, it could never quite be extinguished. 'Tis true, That the frequent Parliaments, and the continual Persecutions of the Heads of it, from the year 1381 to 1400, reduced it almost to nothing. The Chief Families which, as Leaders of that Faction were persecuted, were the Alberti, Ricci, and

A a a 2

Medici,

Medici, who were more than once spoiled both of their Goods and Men; and if any remained in the City, all Honours were taken from them; which strokes not only humbled that Party, but in a manner consumed them. Yet there still remained in the minds of men, a memory of the Injuries received, and a desire of Revenge: which (because they had not power suitable to their wills) they kept lockt up in their breasts. Those popular Nobles, who peaceably Governed the City, committed two Errours which were the ruine of their Government: First, That by a continuance of Rule they grew Proud and Insolent; and the Second, That by reason of the Envy they bore one another, and, for having had too long possession of the State, they began to grow Negligent, and not have that watchful Care over those who might offend them, as they ought: they therefore, by their Corrupt Manners, daily reviving the Hate of the People, and not watching after new Seditions because they did not fear them, or fomenting them by the Envy they bore each other, the Family of the *Medici* came to regain Authority. The first among whom, that began to rise again, was *John di Ricci*. This man having possessed himself of great Riches, and being Naturally Courteous and Liberal, by Concession of those which Governed, was advanced to the Supream Magistracy; which was by the Publick received with so much joy,

the

the Multitude thinking they had now got a Defender, that the wisest and most prudent were (not without cause) jealous of it, because they saw the Ancient Humours again begin to take life: Nor was *Nicholas Vazani* wanting to advertise of it the other Citizens; representing to them how dangerous it was to cherish one of so universal a Reputation, and that it was easie to crush Disorders in the Egg, but hard remedying them when they were full hatcht and flown. That he knew *John* had many parts and endowments superiour to *Silvester*; but *Nicholas* was not at all listned to by his Equals, who envied his Reputation, and desired rather some Assistance to depress him. These Humours thus set a working in *Florence*, and secretly gathering to a Head, *Philip Visconti*, second Son of *John Galeazzo*, being by his Brothers death become Lord of all *Lombardy*, and imagining himself able enough for the Attempt, he had a mighty desire to make himself Lord of *Genova*, which now under the Dukedom of Messer *Thomas de Campo Fregoso*, lived free; but he was somewhat distrustful of bringing that, or any other Enterprise to perfection, if he first concluded not a new League with the *Florentines*, the Reputation of which only he thought would be sufficient to procure his satisfaction. He therefore sends his Ambassadors to *Florence* to demand it. Many Citizens were of Advice not to grant it (who yet wished

Philip Vis-
conti Duke
of Milan
seeks
Peace
with the
Florentines.

a continuance of that Peace which had for many years been maintained betwixt them) for they knew the Advantage and reputation, would accrue to him by it, whilst the City reaped little or no benefit; others were of opinion to grant a new League, and in it impose such Conditions upon him, that if he passed them, his evil intentions might be discovered, and they (if he should break the Peace) more justly make War against him; but however things were argued, a Peace was concluded, whereby *Philip* promised, not to concern himself in any thing on this side *Pannaro* or the river *Magra*. This accord made, *Philip* takes *Breschia*, and soon after *Genova*, contrary to their opinion who in *Florence* had advised the Peace: for all men thought *Breschia* would be defended by the *Venetians*, and that *Genova* would defend it self. And because in the Agreement made by *Philip* with the Duke of *Genova*, he had reserved *Serazama* and some other Towns on this side the *Magra*, with Covenant, That whenever he would alienate them, he should be obliged to sell them to the *Genovese*: *Philip* by this means had violated the Peace, and he had besides entered into League with the Legat of *Bolonia*, which matters very much angered our Citizens: And made them (doubtful of New Mischiefs) prepare New Remedies. Which disturbances coming to *Philip's* Knowledge, he sends Ambassadors to *Florence*, either to justify himself, or to make an essay of the

He takes
Breschia
and *Genova*

And vio-
lates his
Peace with
Florence.

Florentines

Florentines design; or else, to lull them in Security; pretending to be surprized at the Jealousies they had of him, and offering to renounce any thing done by him, that might beget the least suspicion. Which Ambassadors, did nothing else but divide the City for one part (and those the men of most Reputation in the State), judged it convenient to Arm, and be in a readiness, to counter any designs of the Enemy, for when these preparations were made, if *Philip* remained quiet, War was not begun but Peace provided for: but others, out of envy to those that governed, or fearful of the War, were of opinion they ought not to suspect a Friend too lightly, nor had he done any thing deserving so much Jealousy. But they knew very well that the creating the Ten, and the hiring Souldiers, was bidding defiance to so great a Prince to the ruin of the City, without any hopes of advantages; it being impossible for us, whilst *Romania* lay between to become Lords of any thing we should conquer, and, we not being in a Condition to attempt any thing on *Romania*, because of the Neighbour-Hood of the Church. However their Authority who were for preparation of War, prevailed over theirs who were for a sullen peace, and they created the Ten, listed Souldiers, and exeyed new Taxes. Which because they were laid heavier on the Inferiour People than the wealthier Citizens, filled the City all of heart-burnings, and every one con-

the City
divided.

They pre-
pare for
War.

A a a 4

denmed

demned the power and Ambition of the great ones, accusing them that to satisfy their own appetites, and to oppress and Domineer over the People, They had raised an unnecessary War. They were not yet come to an open breach with the Duke, but affaires stood in a very ticklish posture; for the Duke at the request of the Legat of *Bolonia* (who stood in fear of Messer *Antonio Bentivoglio* who being driven out of the City held a Castle of *Bolonia*) had sent some of his forces thither, which bordering on the Dominions of *Florence*, made that state jealous of the intent, but that which startled every one, and became the greatest occasion of the War, was the Dukes expedition to *Furli*. *George Ordellaffi* was Lord of *Furli*, who dying left *Theobald* his Son under Guardianship of *Philip*: And (though the Mother jealous of such a Guardian) had sent him to *Lewis Alidosso*, Lord of *Imola*, her Father; yet she was forced by the people of *Imola*, to perform the Will of the Dead, and to relign him again into the hands of the Duke; whereupon, *Philip*, to give the less suspicion, and better conceal his intentions, commanded the Marquess of *Ferrara*, to send *Guido Torello* with a competency of forces to take (as his Deputy) possession of the Government of *Furli*; and thus fell that Town into *Philip's* power; which Wars when (together with the sending forces to *Bolonia*) it came to be known at *Florence*, facilitated the Determinations

nations of War, though still they found great opposition, and *John de Medici* publicly dissuaded them: urging, that though they were certain of the Dukes ill intentions, yet were it better to stay till he gave the assault, then first to attempt him; for in that case the War would, in the judgment of the Princes of *Italy*, be as Justifiable on the Dukes part as ours: Nor could they so reasonably demand those Assurances, which otherwise they might, if his ambition were first discovered; and that, with other Hearts, and other Forces should they defend their own then other mens. The other Party alledged, That it was folly to stay for an Enemy in their own Houses, but bravery to go meet him; that Fortune is kinder to the Assailer than the Defender; and that the damage would be less (though the charge might be greater) to make their Enemies Country the Seat of War, than their own. Whereupon this opinion prevailed; and it was determined, That the Council of Ten should use all possible means to redeem the City of *Furli* out of the Dukes hands. *Philip* seeing that the *Florentines* would snatch from him those things he had undertaken to defend, laying aside all Respects, sent *Agnolo* of *Pergola* with the body of an Army to *Imola*, to the end, that that Lord being busied in his own Defence, might not be at leisure to succour his Nephew. And *Agnolo* coming near *Imola*, whilst the *Florentine* Forces were yet at *Medigliana*, the Season

Season being so sharp, that the Ditches of the City were frozen, he one night took the Town, and sent *Lewis* prisoner to *Milan*. The *Florentines* seeing *Imola* lost, and the War broke out, sent their Army to *Furli*, who laid Siege to the City, and streightned it on all sides. And because the Dukes Forces should not unite to relieve it, they had taken into Pay Count *Alberigho*, who, from the Town of *Zoganara*, overrun the whole Country as far as *Imola*. *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, seeing he could not securely relieve *Friuli*, our Forces had so strongly begirt it, resolves to attack *Zoganara*; judging, That the *Florentines* would not let him take that Town, and if they would relieve it, they must raise their Siege before *Furli*, and with some disadvantage come to a Battle. He therefore constrained Duke *Alberigho's* men to come to Conditions, *That if they were not in fifteen daies relieved by the Florentines, they would surrender*. This News soon arrived both to the *Florentine* Camp, and City; and every one being desirous the Enemy should not carry away such a Victory, became the Occasion of their gaining a much greater: For the Camp raised from before *Furli* to relieve *Zoganara*, almost as soon as they came to engage with the Dukes Forces, were routed, not so much by the Valour of their Enemies, as by the Bitterness of the weather; for ours having marched for several hours in very deep dirt, and through violent

The *Florentines* totally routed.

lent Rains, came wet and weary to encounter a fresh Enemy, that easily overcame them. Yet in so great a Discomfiture, famous throughout all *Italy*, died no more but Signior *Ladovico Albizi*, and two more of his people, who falling off their Horses were strangled in the Mud. The whole City of *Florence* was infinitely afflicted at the News of this Defeat, but principally those Great men who had advised the War, who now beheld their Enemies strong, and themselves disarmed, destitute of Friends, and the People averse to them, and in all places with bitter and reproachful words reviling them, complaining of their heavy Taxes laid on them to make a War without cause, and uttering such Taunts as these: What did they only create the *Ten* to fright the Enemy? How bravely they have relieved *Furli*, and rescued it out of the Dukes hands? Its apparent now what their Arms and Determinations were; not to defend our Liberty, which is indeed their Enemy, but to increase their own Power, which God has justly diminished. Nor is this the only Enterprize for which they have burthened the City, for (besides many others) that against King *Ladislau* was just like it. Whither will they now fly for help? to Pope *Martin*, harrassed by them for *Braccio's* sake? to Queen *Joan*, whom by abandoning they have forced to cast her self into the arms of the King of *Arragon*? With many other scoffing Expressions, usual with an

The People murmur.

The Lords
try to ap-
pease
them.

an Angry people : Wherefore the Lords thought convenient to assemble many of the Citizens, who by good words might quiet these Commotions of the Multitude : to whom Messer Rinaldo de Albizi (the eldest Son of Messer Maso, who by his own virtue, and the memory of his Father, aspired to the Chief Degrees in the City) spoke at large : Remonstrating, *That it was not prudence to judge of things by the Effects, for many times things well advised meet with cross Events, and things ill advised succeed; but if all Counsel were praised for its Success, it would be an encouragement to Error, and prove very hurtful to the Commonwealth, because Evil Counsels are seldom happy. So likewise should we blame a prudent Undertaking, because it had not a joyful Event, we should discountenance Citizens, and make them unwilling to speak what they think.* Then he explained to them the necessity of undertaking the War, and that if it had not been carryed into Romania, it would have been brought into Tuscany : but since it was the will of God their Army was defeated, the loss would be the heavier, the more that they forsook it. But if they would turn their faces to fortune, and apply those Remedies they might, they would neither be very sensible of the Loss, nor the Duke of the Victory. And that they should not be cast down at the future Charge and Taxes ; for that the former being rationally to grow less, the Burthen of the latter

latter would be much eased, for that fewer preparations may serve for Defence than Offence. In the end, He exhorted them to imitate their Fathers, whose minds no Adversity being able to daunt, they had ever defended themselves against what Prince soever. Upon which, the Citizens perswaded by his Authority, entertained Count Odo, the Son of Braccio, into their pay, giving him for Superintendent or Governour, Nicholas Piccinino a Fosterer of Braccio's, and of the greatest Reputation of any man that ever fought under his Colours, to whom they joyned many other Leaders, and mounted again many of their own men that had lost their Horses. They appointed likewise Twenty Citizens to levy a new Tax, who taking heart upon perceiving, how much the Great men were cast down for the last Defeat, laid it on them without any manner of respect. This Oppression grievously offended the Principal Citizens, who at first were so Civil as to bear their load without much Repining ; but when the Injustice of it began to be generally complained of, they began to consult how to ease themselves ; which coming to the knowledge of many, the Councils not only obstructed it, whereupon they, to make the bitterness and hardship of it be more effectually felt, and to render it more odious, ordered the Exactors of it, with all Severity, to collect it, giving authority to kill any one that should oppose the Publick Ser-

Count Odo
Son of
Braccio,
entertain-
ed by the
Florentines.

Sergeants. From whence happened many dismal Accidents; as, the slaying and wounding several Citizens: So that many feared things would have come to Blood, and every prudent man dreaded some future Evil; the great men (used to be Respected) not able to endure, being thus trampled on, and others desirous that every one should be equally Charged. Wherefore many of the Chief Citizens consulted together, and concluded it necessary to resume the Government, for that their want of Diligence and Care had given men Courage to reprove publick Acts, and encreased the boldness of those who used to be Heads of the *Plebeians*. And, after several times discouraging these things among themselves, they resolved upon a sudden meeting all together, and assembled in the Church of *St. Stephen* more than Seventy Citizens, by the leave of *Messer Ridolfi di Fidi*, and *Francis Gianfigliuzzi*, who then sat as Lords. *John de Medici* met not with them, either because he was not Summoned (they being jealous of him) or, because he would not (differing from them in Judgment) meet. *Messer Rinaldo de Albizi* spoke to them all, and set forth the state of the City, and how by their Negligence it was returned into the power of the *Plebeians*, from whom it had, in the year 1381 been delivered by their Fathers. He put them in mind of the wickedness of that Government, which Ruled from 1377 to 80, and that by

Speech of
*Rinaldo de
Albizi.*

by it, there were none there present but had either a Father or a Grandfather slain; how they were falling into the like Dangers, and the City relapsing into the like Disorders; for the Multitude had already laid a Tax at their own pleasure, and would ere long (if not by Force, or Law restrained) create Magistrates at their own Arbitriment, whereby one Party would live licentiously, and the other in danger, or under the Tyranny of some one whom they should make Prince. Thereupon affirming, that every one who loved his Country, or his Honour, ought to resent it, and call to mind the Valour of *Bardi Mancini*, who redeemed, with the ruine of the *Alborri*, the City out of those dangers that then encompassed it: and since, the occasion of this boldness assumed by the People, proceeded from the numerous *Squittini*, or Imborsations, by the Negligence of those that ordered the Purfes, whereby the Palace became filled with new and Rascally Fellows, he concluded there was no other way to remedy it, but by restoring the Government to the Grandees, and taking away the Authority of the Inferiour Arts, reducing the Fourteen Companies to Seven, whereby the *Plebeians* would have less power in the Councils, as well because their Numbers would be diminished, as because the Authorities of the Grandees would be augmented, who out of their ancient Malice would still hate them: Affirming it an act of

of Prudence to know how to make use of Men, according to different Occasions; for if their Fathers had made use of the *Plebeians* to root out the Insolence of the *Grandees*, now the *Grandees* were grown Humble, and the *Plebeians* Insolent, it were just to bridle their Insolence with the help of those. And that this business might be managed either by Policy or Power, to either of which they might have easie recourse; for some of them being of the Magistrates of the *Ten*, might, without much difficulty, bring Forces privily into the City. Messer *Rinaldo* was praised, and his Counsel approved by every Body. And *Nicholas Urano* among others said, That all that had been spoken by Messer *Rinaldo* was true, and the Remedies good and certain, provided they might be applyed without manifest Division of the City, which would follow of it self if they would draw *John de Medici* to their Party; for he concurring with them, the powers of the Multitude being without a Head, could do no great Injury; but without his concurrence there was no effecting it but by Arms, which he thought hazardous, both because they might not overcome, or if they did, might not enjoy their Victory modestly; refreshing their memories with their own past Records, and how they would not, when they might with ease have done it, remedy these Inconveniences; whereas now, there was no way left of doing it (without hazard of greater danger)

but

Book IV. of Florence.

but by gaining him. Commission was therefore given to Messer *Rinaldo* to confer with *John*, and endeavour to prevail with him to joyn with them: The Gentleman performed his Commission, and in the most obliging terms he could invent, exhorted him to be Assistant to them in this Enterprize, and not by favouring a Multitude increase their boldness, to the ruine of the Government and of the City. To which *John* Answered, That he believed it the Office of a wise and good Citizen, not to alter the accustomed and usual Orders of the City, there being nothing exposes men more than the Change of them; for those variations must offend many, and where numbers are discontented, ill Accidents may well be daily feared. That in his Opinion this design of theirs was in two things very pernicious: First, By the giving Honours to those who having never had them will esteem them less, and not having them have less reason to complain; And the other, By taking them from those who being accustomed to enjoy them, will never be at rest till they get them restored. And thus, the injury done to one Party will seem much greater than the benefit done to the other: so that the Authors of it will gain but few Friends, and many Enemies; and the latter will be much more ready to injure them, than the others to defend them. Men being naturally more prone to revenge Injuries than requite Kindnesses, because this brings Damage with it, and the other Pleasure and Profit.

Then

John de Medici's Answer to Rinaldo Albizi.

Then particularly addressing himself to Messer Rinaldo; And you (said he) had you well weighed the Events of things, and under what vizards of Deceit men walk in this City, would not be so hot in this determination; for whoever Counsels you to it, when with your Power they have taken away the Authority from the People, will with their assistance, whom you must by such an injury make your Enemies, take away yours from you. And it will happen to you as it did to Messer Bennet Alberti, who consented by perswasion of those, who had no kindness for him, to the ruine of George Scali, and Thomas Strozzi, and soon after was by those very people that had perswaded him to it, sent into Banishment. He therefore exhorted him to a more mature deliberation of the Matter, and that he would imitate his Father, who having gained an universal Reputation with the People, slighted the malignant tempers of the few. He therefore advised, That vvhoever had less than half a Florins Tax to pay, should be left to his own Choice to pay or no: And, that on the daies the Council assembled, every man should be secure from his Creditors; Concluding, that for his part he vvould leave their City in the Order he found it. These things being reported abroad, gained John Reputation, and contracted a general Hate upon the other Citizens, from vvwhose Conversation he utterly vvithdrew himself, least he should give them encouragement under his Countenance

tenance to contrive Novelties; and in his Discourses he every vvhere explained himself as a man designing not to foment Sedition, but extirpate it; and had no other intent but to promote, as far as in him lay, the Union of the City. At vvwhich, many of his Followers vverediscontented, vvishing that he vvould rather in matters of this nature appear more brisk and lively: Among vvhom vvvas Aleman Medices, vvho being naturally fierce, continually incensed him to the persecution of his Enemies, and favouring his Friends, condemning his coldness and deliberate vvay of proceeding, vvwhich he urged as the Reason, made his Enemies vvithout any respect Conspire against him, vvwhich Contrivances of them vvould one day come to be the ruine of him and his Friends. His Son Cosmo urged him likewise to the same things; but John vvould not be moved by any Discoveries or Prognostications, from his settled Resolves: howver the Faction vvvas already known every vvhere, and the City in open Division. There were in the Palace, attending the Lords, two Cancellieres, or Secretaries, one called Mr. Martin, the other Mr. Pagolo. The last favoured the Faction of Uzano, and the first that of Medices: And Messer Rinaldo (seeing John vvould not agree with them) thought it convenient to get Martin removed from his Office, thinking thereby to have the Court more favourable; but the Adversaries getting Intelligence

telligence of it, *Martin* was not only defended, but *Pagolo* turned out, to the great regret and displeasure of his Party; which had soon produced dire effects, had it not been for the War that hung over the City, then extremely terrified at the Defeat of *Zagouara*: for, whilst these things were bandied within, *Agnolo* of *Pergola* had taken all the Towns possessed by the *Florentines* in *Romagnia*, (except *Castellazzo* and *Modiglia*) some of the places being but weak, and others ill Guarded. In the taking of which places happened two things, by which may be known how much Valour is esteemed even in an Enemy, and baseness and Cowardize despised. *Braggio del Milano* was Governour of the Rock of *Monte Petroso*, who, when the Enemy had set fire round about him, and that he saw no way to save the Fortress, he threw down Beds and Household-stuff from that part above, which had not yet taken fire, and upon them cast down his little Children, crying out to his Enemies: *Here, take those goods which Fortune has given me, and which you may bereave me of; but the Goods of my Mind, where glory and honour reside, I will neither give you, nor can you force them from me.* The Enemy upon this presently ran to save the Children, and brought him Ropes and Ladders to save himself, but he would not accept them, choosing rather to die in the midst of the flames, than live by the favour of the Enemies of his Country. An Exam-

Examples
of the e-
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Valour,
and con-
tempt of
Coward-
ize.

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ple worthy of often praised Antiquity, and so much the more wonderful because now more rare. His very Enemies restored to his Children all that could be saved, and with great Care sent them to their Kindred; nor was the Commonwealth less kind to them, for while they lived, they were maintained at publick Charge. The contrary to this happened in *Galeata*, where *Zanobi del Pino* was *Podestà*, or Mayor, who without any Defence surrendred the Fortress to the Enemy, and to compleat his Villany, advised *Agnolo* to leave the *Alps* of *Romania*, and come among the little Hills of *Toscany*, where he might make War with less hazard, and more gain. *Agnolo*, who would not endure the baseness and treachery of this mans Soul, delivered him up as a Prey to his vilest Servants, who, after many Scoffs and taunts, gave him nothing to eat but Paper painted with Snakes and Serpents; telling him, That by that diet they would make him, from *Guelph* turn *Ghibelline*; so that, pining and languishing, in few dayes he dyed. Mean while Count *Oddo*, and *Nicholas Piccinino* were got into the Vale of *Lambria*, to try to reduce the Lord of *Faenza* to the *Florentines* side, or at least hinder *Agnolo* of *Pergamo* from making farther Inroads in *Romagnia*: But that Valley being strong, and the Inhabitants all bred Souldiers, they slew *Oddo*, and carryed *Nicholas Piccinino* prisoner to *Faenza*. But Fortune pleased that the

Oddo slain,
and *Pic-*
cinino pri-
soner.

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Flo-

The Flo-
rentines
crave Aid
of the
Venetians.

Florentines should gain that, by being overcome, which possibly had they been Conquerours; they had not obtained; for *Nicholas* wrought so with the Lord of *Fuenza*, that he made them become friends to *Florence*; by which Agreement *Nicholas* was set free, but could not himself follow that Counsel he had given to others; for contracting with those Citizens about his Entertainment, whether the Conditions seemed to him too low, or that he thought he could do better elsewhere, he went from *Arezza* (where he was in Garrison) into *Lombardy* and took pay of the Duke. The *Florentines* terrified at this Accident, and daunted with so great Losses and Expences, judging themselves no longer able to maintain this War alone, sent Ambassadors to the *Venetians*, to desire them (whilst yet with ease they might) to oppose themselves to the growing greatness of a Man, whom, if they permitted to proceed, would in the end be no less pernicious to them than to the *Florentines*; and *Francis Carmignuola*, a Man in these times held to be most expert in War, and who had formerly served in Armes under the Duke, but was since rebelled against him, exhorted them to the same. The *Venetians* were at first doubtful, not knowing how far they might trust *Carmignuola*, whose peike with the Duke they feared might be reconciled; but whilst matters stood thus in suspence, it happened that the Duke,

Duke, by meanes of a servant of *Carmignuola*, caused him to be poisoned: the Poyson was not strong enough to kill him, but reduced him almost to extremity, the occasion of which being discovered, took away all suspicion from the *Venetians*; and the *Florentines* continuing to solícite them, made a League with them, Every one to make War at their own Charge, and the Acquisitions made in *Lombardy* to be the *Venetians*, and those in *Romania* and *Toscany* the *Florentines*; and *Carmignuola* was made Captain General of the League. By this meanes the War was brought into *Lombardy*, where it was Vigorously prosecuted by *Carmignuola*, who in few months took many Towns from the Duke, together with the City of *Brescia*; which Conquests were in those Times, and as War was then made, thought wonderful. This War had lasted from 1422 to 27, and the Citizens of *Florence* were weary of the Taxes as they were hitherto laid, which made them resolve to renew them in another manner: And because they should be proportioned according, they ordered them to be laid upon Stock, and that whoever had a hundred *Florines* Estate, should pay one half Tax: and the Law and not Men being to distribute it, many Wealthy Citizens were sorely grieved: And before it could be determined, it was by them opposed; Only *John Medice* openly commended it, and obtained it, and because in distributing it, they Taxed every

Carmignuola
General of the
League.

The *Catasto*: a Tax upon every mans Stock.

maps stock (which the Florentines call *Accattare*) they named this *Sax Catasto*. This Law in some measure regulated the Tyranny of the Great men, because they could not now beat the Inferior People, and make them with threats hold their tongues in Councils as formerly. The Tax was therefore universally accepted by them, but by the great men with infinite displeasure submitted to. But as it happens, That men are never satisfied, but having got one thing desire another, so the people not content with the equality of the Tax imposed by Law, they demanded a search into times past, and Inquiry to be made what the rich men had paid less than the *Catasto*, and that they should be made to pay so much more to equal them, who to pay what they ought not, had sold their Inheritances. This demand startled men more than the *Catasto* had done, and they defended themselves by condemning it as the most unjust thing in the world, being placed upon moveables, possessed to day, and gone to morrow; and that besides, that there were many who had Monies hid, which the *Catasto* could not find out; to which they added, that those who Governed the Common-wealth, leaving their own business undone, ought to be the less charged by it; and, that it was not just that the City should have their Labour, Industry, and Money too; and only the others, Money. But others who were pleased with the *Catasto* Answered, That if Moveables

ables varied, the Taxes might likewise vary, and by varying them often that inconvenience be remedied. And for those who had Monies hid, there was no account to be made; for what they imployed not to benefit, there was no reason should pay, and when once they imployed it, it would be discovered: And if they thought much to employ their times and pains for the Commonwealth, they should give over; for enough loving Citizens were to be found, who would willingly assist it with their Money, and Counsel too. And besides, the Advantages and Honours attending Government were so great, that they ought to content themselves with them, without expecting to be freed from the burthens laid on others. But they guesst not where the Shooe pincht; for it grieved them most that they could not wage a War without bearing a share with others in the Charge. And if this course had been taken before, neither the War with King Ladislais, nor that with Duke Philip had ever been begun, which were only made to enrich the Citizens, and not out of Necessity. But these stirring Humours were quieted by John Medices, who alleadged, That it was not convenient to make a review into past things, but to provide well for the future; and if the Taxes had hitherto been unjust, they ought to return thanks to God for finding out now a way to adjust them, and with it might be rather a means to reunite than divide the City;

John de Medici endeavours to prevent a review into past Taxes.

Peace
concluded
with Mi-
lan.

1428.

which must needs be if they made an Inquisition into past Imposts, to make them equal with the present: that he that is content with a moderate Victory, chooses the better part; for they who would over-do things, often lose all. With these, and such like Words, he quieted these Humours, and put a stop to all further Disputes about the Equality. In the mean time, a Peace was with the Duke concluded at Ferrara, by means of the Popes Legate; the Articles of which were not at all observed by the Duke: whereupon they of the League again renewed the War, and fighting with the Duke at Maclovio, defeated him. After which discomfiture the Duke made new Proposals of Agreement, to which both the Venetians and Florentines consented: These, because they grew jealous of the Venetians, thinking they spent too much to make others Great; Those, because they perceived Carmignola, after the Dukes defeat, proceed very slowly, so that they could not well tell how they might longer trust him. Peace was therefore concluded in the year 1428, by which the Florentines were restored to all the Towns they had lost in Romania, and Brescia remained in the Venetians hands; and the Duke moreover gave them Bergamo, and the adjoining Territory. The Florentines spent in this War 3500000 Ducats, by which the Venetians gained Power and Greatness; and they, Poverty and Dissension. Peace being no sooner Concluded abroad,

New Divi-
sions in
Florence.

abroad, but the War was revived at home: For the principal Citizens not able to suffer the Catasto, nor knowing any way how to ease themselves of its intollerable burthen, they contrived how to raise up more Enemies against it, that they might have the more force to oppose and suppress it: Declaring to the Officers of the Imposition, that by Law they were commanded likewise to make Enquiry into the Towns abroad, subject to them, and to find out, if there were there any Florentines Goods; whereupon the Subjects were all on appointed daies ordered to bring in Schedules of their Estates. Upon which the Volterans discontented, sent their Complaints to the Senate, which so incensed the Officers of the Impositions, that they clapt eighteen of them in prison; which Action enraged the Volterans, yet out of respect to their Prisoners they for the present rebelled not. About this time John de Medicis fell sick, and perceiving his distemper to be mortal, called Cosmo and Laurence his Sons, and told them: I believe the time of Life allotted me at my Birth, by God and Nature, is now almost expired; and I shall die content, because I leave you Rich, Healthy, and in such a Condition, that you may (if you follow my foot-steps) live honourably in Florence, and esteemed by all men. Nor is there any thing contributes more to my present satisfaction than the Conscience of never having offended, but rather (to the utmost of my

The
Speech of
John Me-
dicis at his
Death.

Bbbb 4 power)

power) pleased all men: And let me persuade you to do the like, and (if you would live secure and quiet) to assume no more of the Government, than by the Laws and by Men is given to you, which will never be attended either with Envy or Danger; for it's what men seize by Violence, and not what's freely given them, that creates a Hatred of them. And many there are who out of a Covetous desire of other mens, have lost their own Possessions, or enjoyed them with Care and Trouble. By observing this Golden Rule have I, (among so many Factions and contrarieties of Opinions) not only maintained, but increased my reputation in this City; and you, following the same Courses, will find the same effects; but doing otherwise, you cannot expect your ends to be happier than theirs, who, in your memory, have undone themselves, and ruined their Families. Soon after he dyed, universally lamented by the City, as his excellent Qualities deserved. This John was so remarkably Charitable, that he not only gave Alms when it was asked, but many times prevented the Petitions of the Poor. He loved all men, praising the Good, and pitying the Bad. He never sought after Offices, yet had all conferred on him: He never went to the Palace uncalled for; was a lover of Peace, and a detester of War; a reliever of men in Adversity, and a supporter of them in Prosperity; a stranger to publick Rapine, and a fartherer of Common Good: Courteous he was in his Magistracies,

cies, and though of no great Eloquence, yet of singular Wisdom. He seemed to be of a Melancholy Complexion, but was in Conversation obliging and merry. He died very rich in Treasure, but richer in his Citizens Love and good Report; whose Inheritances, as well of goods of Mind as Fortune, were by his Son *Cosmo* not only preserved, but enlarged. The *Volterrans* were soon weary of Imprisonment, and to procure their Liberty, promised to comply with whatever was commanded: Whereupon, being set free, at their return to *Volterra*, they found the time come wherein they were to make Election of new *Priors*; among whom was drawn one *Justus* a *Plebeian*, but of great Credit among the People, and one of those who had been imprisoned in *Florence*. He incensed both for the publick and private Injury received from the *Florentines*, (and more particularly persuaded by one *John*, a Gentleman that sat with him in the Magistracy, who encouraged him, by the favour of the People, and the power of the *Priors*, to take the City from the *Florentines*, and make himself Prince of it) ransacked the Town, seized the *Florentine* Governour, and, with consent of the people, made himself Lord of it. This Novelty happening in *Volterra* much disturbed the *Florentines*, yet having made so late an Agreement with the Duke, they hoped they had time to recover it: And not to let slip the opportunity, sent
immedi-

Volterra
rebels.

immediately *Rinaldo Albizi*, and *Palla Strozzi*, as their Commissaries thither. *Justus* having reason to suppose the *Florentines* would assault him, craved Aid of *Siena* and *Lucca*. *Siena* denied him, al-leadging, they were in League with *Florence*; and *Paul Guinigi*, then Lord of *Lucca*, to regain the favour of the *Florentine*, which he doubted to have lost during the War with *Millan*, not only refused *Justus* any Assistance, but sent his Envoy prisoner to *Florence*. The Commissaries mean while, that they might find the *Volterrans* the more unprovided, speedily drew together their Men at Arms, and in the Neighbour Vale of *Arno*, and Province of *Pisa*, levied sufficient Infantry, and marched directly to *Volterra*. Nor was *Justus* either upon the refusal of Aid from his Neighbours, or upon the approach of the *Florentines* to assault him, any whit dismayed, but trusting to the strength of the situation, and largeness of the Town, prepared for his defence. There was in *Volterra* one Messer *Arcolano*, Brother of that *John* who had perswaded *Justus* to seize the Principality, who being of great Credit among the Nobility, gathered together sundry of his Friends and Confidants, and declared to them, How God, by this Accident, had lent his helping hand to the Necessities of the City; for if they would now assent to take Arms, and thrusting *Justus* from his Lordship, restore the City to the *Florentines*,

tines, they would both themselves become the Heads of that Town, and preserve all its Ancient Priviledges. Whereupon, agreeing upon the matter, they presently went to the Palace where *Justus* resided, and the greater part of them staying below, Messer *Arcolano*, with three more, went into the Hall where he was, and finding him with some Citizens, drew him apart into another Room, as if they would communicate to him some matter of importance, and there all falling upon him slew him: Yet were they not so nimble, but that *Justus* had time to lay hands on his Sword, and before they could dispatch him, desperately wounded two of them; but not able to deal long with so many, he was in the end slain, and his Carcass thrown out of the Palace: And those of *Arcolano's* Party taking Arms, surrendered the City to the *Florentine* Commissaries that lay ready at hand with their Forces, who without any farther Capitulations entred the Town, whereby the *Volterrans* made their Condition much worse than it was before; for, among other things, they were dismembred of most part of their Territories, which was reduced under a Lieutenancy. Thus was *Volterra* lost and gained in an instant, and no occasion of War had remained, if some particular mens Ambition had not given a being to it. There had for a long time served the *Florentines*, in their Wars against the Duke, one *Nicholas Fortebraccio*,

Volterra
reduced.

braccio, Sisters Son to *Braccio* of *Perugia*. Peace being Concluded, he was dismissed by the *Florentines*, and when the Revolution at *Volterra* happened, was quartered at *Fucechio*; whereupon the Commissaries thought fit to employ him and his Forces. And it was supposed, that whilst that Affair was in agitation, *Rinaldo* had perswaded him, under some pretended quarrel, to assail the *Lucchesi*, hoping to manage things so, that the *Florentines* should own the Attempt, and make him General of the War. *Volterra* thus surprized, and *Fortebraccio* returned to his Quarters at *Fucechio*; either upon *Rinaldo*'s perswasions, or having designed it himself, in November 1429, with three hundred Horse, and three hundred foot, seizes upon *Kuoti* and *Compito*, two Castles of the *Lucchesi*, and so marching forward plundered the whole Country. The News of which was no sooner published in *Florence*, but the streets were filled with Committees of all sorts, and most wished an Attempt to be made upon *Lucca*. The Chief Citizens favouring it, were the *Medici*, and with them joyned *Rinaldo*, induced to it, either out of hopes it would prove advantageous to his Country; or, Ambition, presuming upon the honour of the Victory. Those which disapproved it were *Nicholas de Uzano*, and his Party. 'Tis almost incredible there should be such variety of Opinions in one and the same City, and that in so material a point, as making

making a War for those Citizens, and that very People, who, after Ten years Peace, had blamed a War against Duke *Philip*, for defence of their Liberty. Now, after such vast Expence, and reducing the City under such loads of Oppression and Necessity, eagerly pressed an Expedition against *Lucca*, and the invading the Liberties of others; and on the other hand, those who had urged that, opposed this: So strangely variable are the Minds of men, and so much more ready are the Multitude to seize anothers Right, than defend their own; for hopes of Winning prevails above fear of Losing; this being never dreaded till it approach, but the other alwaies at a distance hoped for. And the People of *Florence* were not only swell'd with the flattering hopes of the Victories which *Fortebraccio* had, and might obtain; but encouraged by Letters from the Governours adjacent to *Lucca*: for the Deputies of *Pescia* and *Vico* wrote for leave, to take possession of the Castles offered to be surrendered to them, assuring that almost the whole Territory of *Lucca* would submit. Besides, when the Lord of *Lucca* sent his Ambassadors to *Florence*, to complain of the Spoils made by *Nicholas*, and to intreat the Senate, not to commence a War against their Neighbours, and against a City that had always been their Friend. This Ambassador was called *James Utoian*, who had formerly been kept Prisoner by *Paul Guinigi*,

Debates
about a
War with
Lucca.

Guinigi, Lord of *Lucca*, for Conspiring against him, and though he were found guilty, had his life spared; and imagining *Vivian* had forgiven him the Injury, as he had pardoned him his life, he now trusted and employed him; but the memory of the danger he had passed, prevailed with *Messer Vivian* above the benefit received; so that being now come to *Florence*, he privily encouraged the Citizens to the War; and his encouragements being fortified with the hopes they had before conceived, made the Senate assemble a Council, wherein appeared 498 Citizens, before whom by the Chief of the City the Matter was debated. Among the first that furthered the Enterprize (as has been said before) was *Messer Rinaldo*, who set forth the Advantages accruing by the Victory, and the present fitness of the opportunity; the Duke and *Venetians* having deserted them; and the Pope (busied in the Affairs of the Kingdom) not able to succour them. To which he joyned the facility of winning that City, slave to a Citizen of its own, and thereby having lost its Native vigour, and ancient Care to defend its Liberty: So that by means of the People, studying how to drive out the Tyrant, or the Tyrants fear of them, Success was not to be doubted. He likewise laid before them the Injuries that Lord had done their Common-wealth, and how dangerous it were if the Pope or Duke should renew the War: Concluding

cluding, that never any undertaking of the *Florentine* people was either more Easy, more Advantagious, or more just. In opposition to which Opinion, *Nicholas Da Uzzano* stood forth and said. That the City of *Florence* never undertook a more unjust nor a more hazardous Enterprize; for in the first place they wounded themselves by wounding a City of the *Guelph* faction, which had alwayes been most affectionate to *Florence*, and which with danger to itself, had received into its Sanctuary the banished *Guelphes*, that durst not abide their own Country: Nor was there any Record to be produced, That *Lucca* whilst free had ever offended *Florence*; but if those which had enslaved her had done it, as first *Castaruccio*, and now the present Lord, the blame was to be laid on the Tyrant and not the City. If therefore they would make War against the Tyrant, without waging it against the Citizens, it would be much more reasonable; but since that could not be, he would never consent to the spoiling and sacking of a City that had ever been their Friends; however, since Right and Wrong are things which now a daies were made no account of, he would urge them no farther, and only consult of the Advantages our City might possibly gain by this attempt. Whereupon his opinion was, That those things only could be properly called Advantagious, which were not probably liable to loss and damage, and therefore he could

could not understand how any would reasonably term that Enterprize advantageous, where the Loss was certain, and the Profit doubtful: that certain loss would be the vast Charges attending such an Enterprize, which seemed so great that they were enough to terrifie any peaceable City, much more ours tired and harrassed with tedious War: The Advantages proposed, would be the adding *Lucca* to our Dominion, which he confessed would be great, but the doubts of success were so Numerous, that the acquisition to him seemed impossible; Nor could it enter into his belief that either Duke *Rhiliu*, or the *Venetians*, would be pleased with it; for the last appeared only to consent that they might not appear ingratefull, having lately with the *Florentines* Mony won so great a Dominion, and the other would rejoyce to see us by a new War exposed to the Expence of more Treasure; So that drained at once of our Men and Mony, we might be, by him, the easier infested: Nor would he at any time, even in the height of the Enterprize; and in our highest hopes of Victory, want means to send relief to the *Lucchesi*, either covertly with Mony, or by pretended dismissing his Troopes, and sending them like Souldiers of fortune to their assistance. He exhorted them therefore to wave the Enterprize, and Study such a manner of living with the Tyrant as they might be able to suppress their Enemies by themselves; for there was no

readier

readier way to subdue them, than letting them still live under the Tyrant, to be by him oppressed and weakned; and by prudent management it might be effected, That the Tyrant no longer able to maintain his power, nor they knowing how to Govern of themselves, must of necessity fall under our Protection. But the opposite humours having got the predominancy, he perceived his Advise not at all listned to, yet he would take upon him the freedom of Prognosticating, That they would rush upon a War of certain and great expence, attended with many dangers within, and instead of possessing themselves of *Lucca*, free it from the Tyrants yolk, and from a weak and enslaved City, not only set them at Liberty, but engage their Enmity, and create to themselves in time, an obstacle to the growing greatness of the Republique. Thus was this design controverted, till at last, as is usual in such cases, they sought privately to gain Voices, so that in the up-shot there appeared of the whole Number only 98 Dissenters; whereupon War was determined, a Council of Ten Created to manage it, and Horse and Foot ordered to be levied. *Astorre Gianni*, and *Rinaldo Albizi* were appointed Generals, and it was agreed, That *Nicholas Fortebrasse* should have the government of the places he had taken, he still prosecuting the War under our pay. The Generals with their Army being arrived in the Territories of *Lucca*, divided their Forces:

War with
Lucca re-
solved on.

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ces: *Astorre* marched down into the Plain towards *Camagiore*; and *Pietrasanta*; and *Rinaldo* with his Party went up into the Mountains, judging that the whole Country vvasted, the City would be easily subdued. This action proved unfortunate, not but that they surprized many Towns, but because there vvere great defects in the Management of both Generals. And most certain it is *Astorre Gianni* contributed much to his ovvn dishonour. There is neer *Pietrasanta* a Vale called *Serravezza*, rich and full of inhabitants, vvho hearing the General was coming towards them, went to meet him, and submitting themselves, desired to be received as faithful Subjects of the *Florentine* people: *Astorre* made shew of accepting their submission, but afterwards with his Souldiers seizing all the Passes and Fortresses of the Valley, he caused all the men to assemble in their principal Church, where he took them all Prisoners, and then sacked and spoiled the whole Country, not sparing the Consecrate places; but in a cruel and avaritious manner, robbing the Churches, and vvithout respect, abusing both Virgins and married Women. These barbarous proceedings were no sooner related in *Florence*, but the whole City, as well as the Magistracy were offended at them; for some of the *Serravezzi* who had escaped out of the Generals hands, fled to *Florence*, and in every Street, and in every Market place, filled the Ears of the People

The ill management of the *Florentine* Generals.

People with the relations of their Miseries: Insomuch, that encouraged by many Citizens, who were desirous to have the General punished, either because they indeed thought him a wicked Man, or because he was contrary to their Faction, they vvent before the Council of *Ten*, and demanded Audience; to which, being admitted, one of them spake in this manner: "We are very well assured (most Mighty Lords) that your Lordships would afford both belief and Compassion to what vve have now to utter, did you know in vvhat manner your General has used our Country, and how cruelly we have been treated by him. Our Vale (as may be found at large in your Records) was alwaies *Guelph*, and has been a faithful Sanctuary of your Citizens, when persecuted by the *Ghibellines* they fled thither for shelter: And our Ancestours have ever had in adoration the Name of this Noble Commonwealth, as the Heads of that Sect. Whilst the *Lucchesi* were *Guelphs*, we willingly submitted to their Rule; but since a Tyrant usurped over them, and they deserting their Old Friends, inclined to the *Ghibelline* Party, we have rather by force than good-will paid them Obedience. God knows how often we have prayed for an opportunity to testify our zeal to the Ancient Cause and Party. But how blind are men in their desires? what vve coveted for our Safety, is become our Ruine:

The Complaint of the *Serravezzi*.

" Ruine: For no sooner heard we that your
 " Ensigns were marching towards us; but
 " we went forth to meet them, not as E-
 " nemies to oppose, but (as our Ancestours
 " were wont) to submit our Vale, our
 " Selves, our Lives and our Fortunes, into
 " the hands of your Général; relying on
 " his faith, and believing to find him, if not
 " of the noble *Florentine* temper, yet at
 " least not utterly void of Humanity: your
 " Lordships must pardon us, if the insup-
 " portableness of our Sufferings constrain
 " us to speak things undecent: That Gene-
 " ral of yours has nothing of a Man but
 " the Presence, nor of a *Florentine* but
 " the Name. He is the most deadly plague,
 " the most ravenous Tiger, and most exe-
 " crable Monster Nature ever produced;
 " for Assembling us in our Church, under
 " pretence of speaking with us, he made us
 " Captives, burning and ruining all our
 " Valley: robbing, sacking and plundering
 " the Goods of the Inhabitants; beating
 " and slaying their Persons; defiling their
 " Wives, and ravishing their Virgins; nay
 " forcing them from their tender Mothers
 " arms, to make them a prey to the beastly
 " Lust of his Souldiers. Had we by any
 " Injury deserved this from the *Florentine*
 " People, or had we opposed his Arms
 " and been taken, we should have had less
 " cause to complain, nay rather we should
 " have accused our selves, and blamed those
 " Injuries, and that Arrogance of ours
 " which

" which had brought those Miseries upon
 " us; but when disarmed we submitted
 " our selves, then to rob and spoil us, and
 " treat us with so much despite and igno-
 " miny, is a Grief our hearts would burst
 " if we did not disclose it. And though
 " we might have filled all *Lombardy* with
 " our Complaints, and to the scandal of
 " this City, have spread abroad the fame
 " of our barbarous Injuries throughout all
 " *Italy*, we have forbore to do it, unwilling
 " to blemish so Noble, so Just, and so Com-
 " passionate a Commonwealth, with the
 " villany and cruelty of one dishonest Citi-
 " zen, whose covetous temper, had we be-
 " fore our ruine been made sensible of, we
 " should have strained our selves to satiate
 " his greedy mind (though it be insatiate,
 " and bottomless as the Sea) by giving up
 " part of our Substance to ransom the re-
 " mainder: But since that Remedy is too
 " late, we are forced now to have recourse
 " to your Lordships, humbly beseeching you
 " to grant some relief to the Misfortunes of
 " your poor afflicted Subjects, that Men be not
 " by our Examples affrighted from submit-
 " ting themselves to your Government: or,
 " if our infinite Miseries cannot move you,
 " yet let the fear of Gods Anger perswade
 " you, who has beheld his Churches sackt,
 " and burnt, and our People betrayed in the
 " very bosoms of them. And herewith
 " Concluding, they cast themselves prostrate
 " on the ground, beseeching that their Goods

Rinaldo de
Albizi
accused,
leaves the
Army.

and Country might be restored to them, and (though the Womens lost Honours could not be retrieved) yet, that the Wives might be returned to their Husbands, and the Children to the Parents. The barbarousness of this Fact being before reported, and now by the tongues and tears of these afflicted Men confirmed, so moved the Magistracy, that without any delay they recalled *Astorre*, who was afterwards condemned and admonished. Inquisition was likewise made after the Goods of the *Seravezesi*, and all that could be found restored, and the remainder were in process of time, by the City, satisfied. On the other side, Messer *Rinaldo de Albizi* lay under the scandal of having perswaded the War, not for publick Advantage, but private Gain; and, that since his being made General, his eager desire of subduing *Lucca* was vanished, and he was satisfied with robbing and spoiling the Country, stocking his own Farms with Cattle, and his Houses with plunder: Nor yet content with his own share of the prey, he bought the private Souldiers Purchase, and so from a General was become a Merchant. These Calumnies coming to his Ears, touched to the quick his high and haughty Soul, more than became a Man of his rank and gravity, in-somuch, that fretted at the Magistrates and Citizens, without expecting or asking leave, he returns to *Florence*, and presenting himself before the *Ten*, said: *That he very well*

knew

*knew how great difficulty and danger there was in serving a loose People, and a divided City; for the one are credulous of every idle Rumour, and the other punishes bad Success, never rewards the good, and blames the doubtful; so that none praise him that is Victorious, all condemn him that Errs, and slander him that is Unsuccessful; his very Friends persecuting him out of Envy, and his Enemies out of Hatred: Yet he had never stood so much in awe of Evil tongues, as to forbear, for fear of them, any Action that might redound to the advantage of his City. 'Tis true, the present abuses and slanders had over-wrought his patience; and made him change his Nature; He therefore besought the Magistrates for the future, to be more ready to defend the Fame of their Citizens, if they expected their readiness to act for the good of their Country; and, since Florence permitted them not to Triumph, they would at least rescue them from the reproach of Evil tongues, reminding themselves to be Citizens of the same Town, and might, sometime or other, have those Charges imposed on them, might make them feel how bitter Calumny is to an honest mind. The Ten temporizing strove to appease him, and committed the Charge of the War to *Neri di Gino*, and *Atimanno Salviati*, who leaving off spoiling the Country, made their approaches to the Town; but because the Season was yet very Cold, they sat down at *Cappannote*, where, though the Generals thought they lost time, and*

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were

were desirous to lay a closer Siege; yet the Souldiers because of the bitterness of the Weather would not consent, though the *Ten* solicited them to Decamp, and would at admit no excuse at all. There was at this time in *Florence* an excellent Architect, called *Philip Brunelleschi*, who with many excellent Buildings had replenished our City, so that he deserved after his death to have his Statue set up in Marble in the principal Church of *Florence*, with an Inscription on the Pedestal, testifying his Excellencies of that kind. This Man declared how *Lucca*, considering the scituation of the City, and the Course of the River *Serchio*, might easily be drowned, and was so positive in it, that the *Ten* gave him leave to try the Experiment, but his project produced only disorder in our Camp, and safety to the Enemy. for the *Lucchesi* with a high and strong Bank opposed the Course of the Water, on that side whither they had turned the River, and then in the Night cut the banks of that Channel by which they conducted the Stream; so that the Banks towards *Lucca* being raised, and the Ditch, by which the Water was brought, broken, the Stream reverted into the Plain, whereby the Camp was forced to draw farther off, and could no more approach the Town. This Design proving thus unsuccessful, the *Ten* that were newly Elected sent Messer *John Guiccardine* to be General. He with all speed possible begirt the Town, and

Attempt
made to
drown
Lucca.

and the Lord of it finding himself now streightned, by Advice of *Anthony Rosso*, (resident there from the State of *Siena*) sent *Silvester Trenta*, and *Lodovick Bonvisi* to *Milan*: They on the behalf of their Lord, desired that Dukes Aid; but finding him cold, they privately requested him to supply them with Forces, promising on the part of the People, to deliver up their Lord Prisoner, and surrender to him the possession of the City: Assuring him, That if he accepted not this offer, the Lord would deliver up the Town to the *Florentines*, who by large Promises solicited him to it: which Suggestion put the Duke in such fear, that, laying aside all Respects, he gave order, that the Earl *Francis Sforza*, his principal Captain, should publicly ask his Licence to go into the Kingdom of *Naples*; which having easily obtained, he comes with his Forces to *Lucca*: though the *Florentines* mistrustful of the Contrivance, and doubtful of the Issue, had sent to Count *Baccacino Alamanni* to prevent him. Earl *Sforza* being thus got into *Lucca*, the *Florentine* Camp retreated to *Libra-* *Sforza comes to assist Lucca.* *fatta*; and the Earl presently marches and invests *Pescia*, where *Pagolo Diacetto* was Governour, who taking Counsel rather of Fear than Honour, flies to *Pistoia*. And had not the Town of *Pescia* been defended by *John Malavolti*, who Commanded the Guards there, it had been certainly lost. The Earl therefore failing to take it at the first

first Assault, goes to the Borough of *Bugiano*, and takes it, and burns *Stiliano* a Castle adjacent. The *Florentines* growing sensible of these Incroachments, had recourse to a Remedy which had often steaded them, knowing well that where Force failed to counterpoise a Mercenary Enemy, Corruption would turn the Scale; wherefore they made the Earl a proffer of Mony, to oblige him not only to depart, but to deliver them the Town. The Earl perceiving there was no more Mony to be had from the *Lucchesi*, resolved to accept it from those who could give it, and therefore struck a Bargain with the *Florentines* for 50000 Ducats, not to deliver up *Lucca*, which in Honour he could not do, but to leave it to its shifts as soon as the Mony should be paid; and that the People of *Lucca* might excuse him to the Duke for making this Agreement, he practiced with them the turning out their Lord. There was in *Lucca* (as hath been said before) one Messer *Antonio Rosso*, Ambassadour from *Siena*: He, by Authority from the Earl, contrived, with the Citizens, the ruine of *Pagolo*, or *Paul*: The Chief of the Conspirators were *Peter Cennami*, and *John Chivizzano*. The Earl lay encamped without the Town by the River *Serchio*, and with him *Lanzilau*, Son of *Paul Guinigi*, Lord of *Lucca*: so the Conspirators, to the number of Forty well Armed, went by Night to *Paul*, who startling at their sudden

The Lord
of *Lucca*
depoled.

den intrusion, demanded the cause of their coming; to which *Peter Cennami* replied, That they had so long been Governed by him till they were begirt with Enemies, and in a fair way to perish, either by Sword or Famine, wherefore they were resolved to Govern themselves for the future, and came now to demand the Keys and Treasure of the City. To which *Paul* made Answer, That the Treasure was spent, but both the Keys and himself were at their devotion; only Requesting, That since his Government had begun and continued without Blood, so without Blood, by their favour, it might end. *Paul* and his Son were, by Earl *Sforza*, carried to the Duke, where they afterwards died in Prison. The Earls Departure delivered the *Luccheses* from the Tyrant, and the *Florentines* from the fear of his Forces: so those made preparations of Defence, and these returned to offend, having Commissionated the Earl of *Urbino* their General, who so straitly besieged the City, that the *Lucchesi* were again necessitated to have recourse to the Duke for Assistance, and he under the same pretences he had before sent *Sforza*, now sends *Nicholas Piccinino* to relieve them: Who endeavouring to enter *Lucca*, was by our Men encountred on a pass of the River *Serchio*, where our People were routed, the General, and some few more saving themselves at *Pisa*. This Defeat afflicted the whole City; and because the expedition was made by General consent, the people

ple not knowing well where to lay the blame, charged all the fault upon those that had the Management of the War, since they could not charge those who had been the devisers of it, and the former Accusations against *Rinaldo* were revived. But most of all they loaded *John Guiccardino*, charging him, that he might, if he had pleased, have ended the War after *Sforza's* departure, but that he was corrupted with Money, of which a great sum he had sent home, offering to produce who had brought it, and who received it. These Rumours and Accusations grew so high, that the Captain of the People moved by the Publick cry, and the Clamour of the contrary faction, Cited him; Messer *John*, full of indignation, appeared, but his Friends for their own Honour sake, laboured so earnestly in the matter, that the Captain did not proceed. The *Lucchese* after this Victory, not only regained all their own Towns, but surprized all those belonging to the Territory of *Pisa*, except *Bientina*, *Calcinai*, *Leghorn*, and *Librafatta*, and had not the Plot in *Pisa* been discovered, that City had likewise been lost. The *Florentines* recruiting their Army made *Michaletto*, who had been trained up under *Sforza*, General. On the other side the Duke closely pursued the advantage, and the more sensibly to afflict the *Florentines*, united the *Genovese*, those of *Siena* and the Lord of *Piombino*, in a league for the defence of *Lucca*, making them entertain *Nicholas Piccinino*

cinino for General of the league; by which meanes all the whole intregue was discovered, and the *Florentines* and *Venetians* renewing their antient Alliance, open War was made in *Lombardy* and *Toscany*, and in each Province sundry fights ensued with Various success: Till all Parties wearied out, in May 1433 a General Peace was concluded; by which the *Florentines*, those of *Lucca* and *Siena*, who during this War had seized several Castles one of the others, made reciprocal Restitution: And each contented themselves with their own possessions. Whilst this War was on foot, the Malignant humours of the Factions in the City got head, and *Cosmo de Medici* after the death of *John* his Father, managed the Concerns of the Common-wealth with more address and care of the publick, and with more freedom and liberality towards his Friends, than his father had done before him; insomuch that those which rejoyced at the death of *John*, now seeing the management of *Cosmo*, were sorry: *Cosmo* was a man of Excellent Prudence; of a grave and gracious Aspect; extremely liberal, and infinitely Courteous; and who never attempted any thing against any of the Factions, or against the State; but strove to oblige all the World, and by his Liberality gain the good-will of the Citizens. So that his Virtues seem'd to cast a shadow upon those that governed; and himself beleived he might by this meanes live in *Florence* in

The Venetians and Florentines joyned.

1433.

in sufficient power and Security; or if the Malice of his Adversaries should in any extraordinary manner oppose him, he might by the Number and Strength of his Friends oppress them. The main instruments to form his Greatness were *Averardo de Medici*, and *Puccio Pucci*: *Averardo* with his Courage, and *Puccio* with his Counsel supporting and enlarging his Reputation and Renown. And in such Esteem was *Puccio's* Wisdom and Counsel, and so well Known, That the Faction was not called by *Cosmo's* Name, but *Puccio's*. By a City thus divided was the expedition of *Lucca* made, and by it the Contentions were rather enflamed than quenched; And although *Cosmo's* Party were the chief Counsellors of it, yet more of the contrary Party had Command of the Army, as being of greater Reputation in the state: which since *Everard de Medici* and the rest could not remedy, they strove, all they could, to calumniate them; and if any loss happened (as many did) they imputed it not either to the good Fortune, Courage, or Conduct of the Enemy; but to the want of Discretion and Prudence in their own Officers. Thus the lapses of *Astorre Gianni* became aggravated: Thus was *Rinaldo de Albizi's* Patience overborn, and he in a Passion made return, laying down his Commission without leave; and Thus was the delivery of *John Guiccardine* demanded from the Captain of the people; and thus all the blame Charged either upon the

the Magistrates, or Ministers of War, had its original; for where the Accusation was true, it spread of its self, and where it was invented, art was added; and whether true or false, it was by the people who hated them, believed. These new and extraordinary waies of proceeding were very well known to *Nicholas de Vzano* and the Chief of his Party, and many times had they consulted a Remedy, but could conclude on none; for to give way to it they perceived was dangerous, and to put any violent Stop to it, more difficult, but *Nicholas de Vzano* was the first who expressed his displeasure against these strange proceedings. And in the heat of War abroad, and their Disorders at home, *Nicholas Barbadori* endeavouring to dispose *Nicholas de Vzano* to the ruin of *Cosmo*, went one day to his House, where finding him alone, and in a profound study, he endeavoured by all the weighty Arguments he could invent, to perswade him to consent with *Rinaldo* to drive *Cosmo* out of the City, to whom *Nicholas Vzano* made this Reply: *In my Judgment, it were better for thee, thy Family, and all that joyn with thee in this Opinion, that they had Beards of Silver than of Gold, as thou art said to have; for then their Advice, proceeding from hoary and experienced Heads, would be more judicious and profitable. I am of the mind, that those who desire to banish Cosmo out of Florence, should first of all weigh and measure their Power with his. The Party siding with*

The ruine
of *Cosmo*
de *Medici*
perswa-
ded.

with us you have named the Party of the Nobles, and that opposing it the Faction of the Plebeians: mere the Truth correspondent to the Name, yet would the Success be in all points doubtful, and we have more Reasons to fear than hope, taught by the Example of the Ancient Nobility, whom the Plebeians have quite rooted out; but we have much more cause to fear, our Party being divided, and theirs entire. In the first place, Neri di Gino, and Nerone di Nigi, two prime Citizens, have never yet declared themselves so; that we can well determine whether they are more our Friends, or theirs: There are many Families, and many Houses divided; for many out of Envy to their very Brethren and Relations disavour us and side with them. Let me only put you in mind of some of the Chief, and the rest guess at your self; of the Sons of Messer Maso de Albizi, Luke, one of envy to Rinaldo, has joyned himself to their Party. In the Family of the Guiccardines, and among the Children of Lewis, Peter is an enemy to John, and favours our Adversaries. Thomas and Nicholas Soderini, for the Hate they bare their Uncle Francis, do openly oppose us: So, that if it be well considered, what they, and what we are, I see not any reason why our Party should be stiled Noble more than theirs, unless, because they are universally followed by the Plebeians; which makes the worse for us, and the better for them; we upon any occasion of disputing it by Arms being too weak to resist them. And if we stand

upon

upon our Dignity, that, from the Ancient Reputation of the State had its original, and continuation for these fifty years; but when it comes to the proof, and our weakness is discovered, we shall soon lose all: Or, if you think that the just occasion prompting us to it will gain us Credit, and them Disrepute; I Answer, That justice of our Cause must then be understood by others as well as our selves, which happens quite contrary; for the Occasion moving us is founded on a suspicion, least he should make himself Prince of this City; but though we suspect it, others will not, nay which is worse, they accuse us of what we accuse him. The things which chiefly render Cosmo suspected, are, because he employs his Money to serve all mens Occasions, not only publick Persons, but private; not only Florentines, but Forreigners: because he favours this, and that other Citizen, who stand for the Magistracy; and because, by his credit with the Multitude, he advances this and that other Friend to greater degrees of Honour. Tell me therefore the Reasons why you would have him Banished; is it because he is Charitable, Friendly, Liberal, and beloved? Pray, what Law prohibits, blames, or condemns men for Charity, Liberality and Love? And though all men aspiring to Principality, usually tread these paths, yet they are not thought to do so; nor can we force it into mens belief: for our proceedings have debauched our Credit, and this City fostered in Division, and the Citizens used to live in Parties, and Faction, are grown

D d d so

so Corrupt, they will never give faith to such Accusations. But, suppose we should attain our desires of Expelling him (which, having a Senate for the purpose, may easily be effected) yet how can you devise to oppose his return, whilst he has so many Friends remaining who will be zealous for it? 'Twould be impossible; his Friends being numerous, and he so universally beloved, and the more of his Friends you labour to Banish, the more Enemies you contract to your selves; so that Return in a short time he will, and all the gain will be this, That you banished a Good man, and have an evil one returned you; for his Nature will be corrupted by those who labour his Revocation, whom he cannot contradict: And, if you design his death, by order of the Magistracy you will never procure it; for his Money, and our own corrupt Natures, would certainly save him: But suppose him Dead, or Banished, so that he can no more Return; I cannot perceive the advantage would thereby accrue to our Commonwealth; for by being freed from Cosimo it will be enslaved to Rinaldo, and for my part, though I could wish no Citizen superiour to another in Power and Authority: Yet, if one of these must prevail, there is some secret Reason persuades me to love Rinaldo better than Cosimo. I say no more, but God defend that any Citizen should usurp a Principality over us; yet if our sins have deserved such a Plague, of all men living I would not obey him. I do not therefore persuade an Attempt any way hazardous, nor believe that the Combination

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of

of a few can withstand the will of many: for the Multitude, partly through Ignorance, and partly through Malice, are all ready to sell the Commonwealth; and Fortune is so kind to them they have already found a Champion. Let my Counsel therefore prevail, live modestly and you will soon observe, as to the Liberty of the City some of our Party ought to be suspected as well as the others; and if any Troubles arise, living in an easie Neutrality, you will be grateful to all, and so may be helpful to your self, and not hurtful to your Country. These Words somewhat appeased Barbadoro's mind, and the City continued quiet during the Lucchese War. But Peace being concluded, and with it happening the death of Nicholas Uzzano, the City having slipped off the bridle of War, had no Reins to Govern it, but run madly on to Fury and Disorder: For Rinaldo remaining now the sole Head of his Faction, incessantly intreated and perswaded all those Citizens of Quality, whom he thought likely to be made *Gonfalonieri*, to Arm themselves for the Defence of their Country against a Man, who by reason of the Malice of some, and Ignorance of others, must of necessity reduce them into slavery. These proceedings of Rinaldo's, and the oppositions made by the adverse Party, raised fears and Jealousies in the City: at the Creating of every Magistracy they publickly discoursed how many of one Party, and how many of the other sat; and at the Election of

D d d d 2

Senators

Confusion
in Florence.

Senators the whole City was in Uproar ; every Cause of the slightest moment, that came before the Magistrates to be decided, begot a Tumult ; Cabinet Counsels were divulged ; Good and bad men favoured, and disfavoured ; and both sorts equally tormented and molested. Whilst Florence was in this Confusion, and *Rinaldo* zealous to suppress the Greatness of *Cosmo*, he knowing that *Bernardo Guadagno* was likely to be Elected *Consaloniere*, pays his Debts, least the Mony he owed the Publick should be an obstacle to his arrival at that Dignity. And it came to pass at the drawing the Lots, that (Fortune favouring our Disorders) *Bernardo* was elected *Consaloniere*, to officiate during the Months of *September* and *October* : Whom, *Messer Rinaldo* presently went to wait upon, Representing to him, "How many, on the Party of the Nobles, and even all that desired to live well, rejoyced at his advancement to that Dignity ; and therefore it vvas his part to take care they should not rejoyce in vain : laying before him the dangers attended on Discord, and how there was no other way to unite the City but by expelling *Cosmo* ; Who, with the general Love his excessive Riches had gained him, kept others weak, and was grown to that height, that if sudden provision vvere not made, he would aspire to the Principality. 'Twas therefore his duty, like a good Citizen, to apply a

"speedy

"speedy Remedy by calling the people into the *Piazza*, resuming the Government, and restoring the City to her Liberty ; Remembring him, "How *Silvester Medici* did, without Justice, bridle the power of the *Guelphs*, to whom a Right of Government (for the Blood of their Ancestors, shed in defence of it) belonged ; and what he unjustly did against so many, why should he now fear to act justly against one ? Exhorting him not to be afraid, for their Friends with their Arms, would be ready to assist him : Nor vvas any account to be made of the Multitude that adored him, whose Favour would prove as defective to him as it had done to *George Scali* ; nor should he be awed by his Riches, which, were he once in the Senates power, would be theirs : Concluding, that this Action would both quiet the State, and make him famous. To all which perswasions *Bernardo* briefly Answered ; "That he thought what he proposed necessary, and because the time vvas not to be spent in Words but Actions, he would presently prepare his Forces to be ready, so soon as his Companions were perswaded to it. As soon as *Bernardo* was entred into the Magistracy, his Friends all disposed and agreed with *Rinaldo*'s, he Cited *Cosmo*, who (though by many otherwise advised) appears, relying more on his own Innocency, than the Favour or Mercy of the Senate.

D d d 3

As

Cosmo de Medici
Cited and
Committed.

As soon as *Cosmo* was entred the Palace, and Arrested, *Rinaldo*, with many Armed men, sallies out of his House, and joyning vwith the rest of the Faction, comes into the *Piazza*, vvhither the Senate summoned the People, and created a *Balia* of Two hundred men to reform the Government of the City; this *Balia*, as expeditiously as they could, began to Treat of the Reformation of the State, and of the Life and Death of *Cosmo*. Many vvould have him Banished; some vvould have him put to Death, and others said nothing, either out of Compassion to him, or fear of themselves: so this diversity of Opinions produced no result. In the Tower of the Palace is a close strong Room, called the *Alberghettino*; There *Cosmo* was kept Prisoner under the Guard of *Frederick Malavolti*; from vvhich place *Cosmo* hearing their Talk, and the noise of Armed Men in the *Piazza*, and the often sounding to the *Balia*, stood in fear of his Life; but vvvas most of all jealous, least his Enemies should, by some extraordinary vvay, deprive him of it, which made him abstain from all Meats, so that in four daies he had tasted nothing but a little Bread; which *Frederick* taking notice of, said to him: "*Cosmo*, I see you
 " are afraid of being poisoned; but you
 " wrong my Honour by imagining I would
 " have a hand in such a wickedness. I
 " cannot believe your Life in any danger,
 " having so many Friends in the Palace,
 " and

and abroad: But, if they have a design that you shall die, be assured they must make choice of other Ministers to execute it; for I will not imbrue my hands in the Blood of any man, much less yours who never injured me; be therefore of good Chear, and fall to your Meat, and preserve your life to the comfort of your Friends and Country: And to give you more confidence to do it, I will my self first eat of whatever is set before you. These vvords extreamly comforted *Cosmo*, and, with tears in his Eyes, he kist and embraced *Frederick*, and with kind and obliging words returned him thanks for so compassionate and friendly an Office, promising to give testimonies of his Gratitude, whenever Fortune should give him an opportunity. *Cosmo* thus put in heart, whilst the Citizens were debating his disposure, it happened that *Frederick*, to make him somewhat the pleasanter, brought along to Supper with him a familiar Friend of the *Gonfaloniers*, called *Fargannacio*, a man made for Wit and divertisement. Supper being almost ended, *Cosmo* having conceived that this man might do him some service (for he was well acquainted with him) beckned to *Frederick* to withdraw, who understanding the sign, pretending to fetch something wanting at Supper, went out and left them alone: *Cosmo* after some kind and obliging vvords to *Fargannacio*, gave him a Token, and injoynd him to

go to the Hospital of *Sancta Maria Nuova* for Eleven hundred Ducats, a hundred of which he should keep for his own use, and the thousand deliver to the *Gonfaloniere*; withal desiring him to make some plausible pretence to come and speak with him. He accepts the Commission, the Monies were paid; and *Bernardo* mollified, so that *Cosmo* was only confined to *Padona*, contrary to the intentions of *Rinaldo*, who sought his Life, *Everard*, and many others of the House of *Medici*, with *John*, and *Puccio Pucci* were likewise Banished; and to terrifie those that were dissatisfied with *Cosmo's* Banishment, they gave the *Balia* to Eight of the Guard, and to the Captain of the People. After which Determinations, on the third of October 1433, *Cosmo* was brought before the Lords, where the Sentence of his Confinement was pronounced, and he counselled to submit to it, least they should be forced to proceed with greater severity against both his Person and Goods. *Cosmo* with a cheerful Countenance received his Sentence, assuring them that whithersoever their Lordships thought fit to send him he should be villing to go; but besought them since they had saved his life, they would please likewise to defend it; because he understood many of his enemies did, in the *Piazza*, lie in wait for his blood; assuring them, that wherever he was, He and his Substance should ever be at the Command of the City, the People, and their Lord.

Cosmo de Medici
Confined
to *Padona*.

Lordships: Hereupon the *Gonfaloniere* comforted him, and kept him in the Palace till night, and then conducting him to his House, after Supper, gave him a strong Guard to accompany him to the Confines. *Cosmo*, wherever he passed, was honourably received and publicly visited by the *Venetians* not like a banished Man, but like one in Supreme Authority. Florence thus robbed of so worthy a Citizen, so Universally beloved, every one was dismayed, and as well the Victors, as the Conquered, seemed terrified. Inasmuch that *Rinaldo*, doubtful of his future Misfortune, that he might not be wanting to himself and his Faction, having assembled many Citizens, his Friends, told them: That he now beheld their Ruin approaching; for having suffered themselves, by their enemies Prayers, Tears and Money to be Vanquished, not considering that themselves should ere long be forced to entreat and weep, whilst none heard their Prayers, nor had compassion of their Tears, and that the money given must be repaid with Exile, torments and death, instead of Usury: For it had been better for them to have been dead, than to leave *Cosmo* alive, or suffer a Friend of his in Florence; For great Persons should never be toucht, or if they be, put past Revenge. There was now therefore no remedy left but to fortifie themselves in the City, that if the resentments of their Enemies should break forth (as soon they would) they might oppress them by Arms, since by Law and

and order they could not Curb or restrain them; and that the Remedy was the same now which had long since been remembred; to wit, to regain the great men, by restoring them to all Honours in the City, and strengthening themselves with that Party, since their Enemies had Fortified themselves with the Plebeians; that by this meanes their Party would be encouraged, having such an addition of Force, Virtue, Valour, and Credit: affirming if they Neglected this only true and ultimate remedy, he could discover no way how to secure the State amidst so many Enemies, but beheld the approaching ruin of their Party, and the whole City. To which Mariotto Boldavineti, one of the Company, opposed himself: Declaring, That the Pride and haughty nature of the Grantees was insupportable, and that it was madness to have recourse to a certain Tyranny to escape a doubtful danger from the Plebeians. So that Messer Rinaldo seeing his Counsels slighted, lamented his, and his Friends Misfortune, attributing this averfeness rather to Providence that would have it so, than to the ignorance and blindness of Men. Whilst things stood in this posture, and no necessary provision made, a Letter was found written by Messer Agnolo Acciaivolo to Cosmo, advising him of the Cities good inclinations towards him, and encouraging him to move a War, and make Neri Gini his Friend: For he judged the City wanted Mony, which not knowing how to supply otherways, his memory, and the

the ardent desire of his return would be revived among the Citizens: and if Neri were drawn off from Rinaldo, his Party would be too weak to defend themselves. This letter coming to the Magistrates hands was the occasion that Messer Agnolo was taken, sequestred, and banished: yet this example curbed not at all the Favourers of Cosmo. The year had now almost gone its round since Cosmo's Banishment, when, about August 1434, Nicholas de Cocco was chosen Gonfaloniere for the two ensuing months, and with him eight Senators, all of Cosmo's Party, so that such a Signory might well affright Rinaldo and his whole Party: And because it is Customary, that the Lords selected, before they enter upon the Magistracy, are three daies private, Rinaldo summons again the heads of his Party, and declares to them the approaching danger, and that there was no remedy but taking Armes, and causing Donato Velluti, who yet sat as Gonfaloniere, to assemble the people in the Piazza, establish a Ballia to remove the new Lords from their Magistracy, and create other fit for their own purpose; and burning the Old Purses make new Imborsations, filled with the Names of their Friends. This devise was by many thought both requisite and safe, others judged it much too violent and dangerous, and among those that opposed it was Mr. Palla Strozzi, who was a quiet Man, Civil, Courteous, and apter for study than to encounter Faction, or

on quell civil Disorders, who therefore Argued, That all attempts, whether guided by Policy or Valour, seeme in their beginnings easie, but in the process prove difficult, and in the end dangerous; That he believed the fear of an approaching War from abroad (the Duke of Romania being with an Army on our confines) would make the Lords mind their Defence, rather than intestine Disorders: yet if they would change Affairs (which could not be done but they must know it) it would then be time to take Arms, and execute what was thought necessary for the publick safety. Which when they were forced to, would create less wonder in the People, and less reproach to themselves. It was therefore concluded that the new Lords should enter, and their proceedings be diligently watched; and if they attempted any thing contrary to the faction, every one should take Arms and Assemble at St. Pulinare (a place nigh the Palace) whence they might proceed to act what should be judged necessary. Concluding upon this, every man returned home, and the New Senators entred upon the Magistracy, and the Consulione, to gain himself Reputation, and terrifie the adverse Party, committed to prison Donato Velluti his predecessor, for having misemployed the publick Treasure: and then sounded the minds of his Companions about Cosimo's return, whom finding disposed, he consults with the cheifes of the Medici's Party, and encouraged by them,

Cites

Cites Messer Rinaldo, Ridolfo Peruzzi and Nicholas Barbadori Principals of the opposite Faction. Upon which Citation, Rinaldo thought it no longer fit to protract time, but sallying from his house with a great Number of Armed followers was presently joyned, by Ridolfo Peruzzi and Nicholas Barbadori, with whom were many Citizens, and many Souldiers, which happened at that time to be in Florence, and out of pay; all which resorted according to the former agreement to the place of St. Pulinare: Messer Palla Strozzi, though he had assembled a great force, staid within his house, and the like did Messer John Guiccardine, whereupon Rinaldo sent to urge them, and reprove their delay. John made answer, That he waged as he thought sufficient War against the enemy, if by staying at home he hindred his brother Peters sallying forth to rescue the Palace. Palla after many messages came to St. Pulinare on horse-back, unarmed, and attended only by two foot-men; whom Rinaldo going to meet, fiercely reprov'd for his negligence; telling him, "That his not assembling with the rest proceeded from his want of Faith, or Courage, both blameworthy in any one who would be thought a Person of Honour, and if he vainly believed that for not doing his Duty, the Enemy would upon Victory pardon him either life or Banishment, he was deceived. As for his part, if any Sinister accident hapned, he should have this satisfaction, That as he had not been wanting

Rinaldo
takes
Arms a-
gainst the
Senate.

wanting in Council before the danger, so he did not want Courage in the midst of it; but as for him and the rest, their Discontents would be aggravated with the Consciousness of having thrice betrayed their Country: first, when they saved Cosmo's life; then, when they slighted his Counsels; and lastly, now refusing to assist him with their Arms. To all which, Palla replied not a word that was heard by the standers by, but murmuring, turned his Horse and returned home. The Senate hearing Messer Rinaldo and his Party had taken Arms, and seeing themselves forsaken, shut the Palace Gates, and void of Counsel knew not what course to take. But Messer Rinaldo delaying his going into the Piazza, expecting those Forces that came not, lost his opportunity of Victory, and gave heart to the Senators to make provision for their safety, and to many Citizens to go in to them to Advise how matters stood, and how things might be appeased. Then some Friends of the Senates, whom Rinaldo had least in suspicion, went to him, and told him, *That the Senate knew not the Reason of these Commotions, nor could imagine how they had offended him, or if it were for Cosmo's sake, there was no intention of recalling him; but if that were their Jealousie, they might be assured of the contrary, and if they would freely come to the Palace they should be welcome, and have all their Demands satisfied.* These words could not change Rinaldo's Resolution; who Replied, *That*

That he would secure himself, by making the Senate private Men; and then reform the State to every ones content. But it alwaies happens, That where Authority is equal, Opinions are various, and seldom any thing well resolved. Ridolfo Peruzzi, moved with the words of those Citizens, said, *That, for his part, he desired nothing but that Cosmo should no more Return, and the grant of that, he thought Victory sufficient, nor desired he, out of hopes of gaining more, to fill the City with Blood, but would obey the Senate; and thereupon, with his people, went to the Palaco where he was joyfully received.* Thus Rinaldo's staying at St. Pulinare, the Cowardize of Palla, and the departure of Ridolpho, had deprived their Party of the Victory; and the hearts of the Citizens following Rinaldo, began to grow cold and faint, to which the Authority of the Pope contributed. Pope Eugenius, who had been expelled by the people of Rome, was now in Florence, and hearing of these Tumults, thought it his duty to endeavour to appease them; to which end he sends the Patriarch, John Vittelleschi, an intimate Friend of Rinaldo's, to desire him to come to him, not doubting but he had Credit and Authority sufficient with the Senate, to content and secure him without Blood, or Damage to his Citizens. Rinaldo perswaded by his Friend, with all his Armed followers goes to St. Maria Novella, where the Pope resided. Eugenius declares to him the power the Senate had com-

The Pope
endea-
vours to
appease
the Tu-
mults.

committed to him to determine all Controversies, which on condition he would lay down Arms, should be done to his full satisfaction, *Rinaldo* having made proof of the coldness of *Palla* and the inconstancy of *Ridolfo Perruzzi*, despairing of better Terms yielded himself into the Popes hands, not doubting but his Authority would secure him; whereupon the Pope presently signified to *Nicholas Barbadori*, and the rest who stayed for him without, that they should lay down their Armes; for Messer *Rinaldo* relied upon the Pope to make an Agreement with the Senate: and at first word they all obeyed, and disbanded; the Senators seeing their Adversaries disarmed, applied themselves to an agreement; by the Popes intermission, but privily sent away to the rock of *Pistoia* for some Companies of foot, which with all their men at Arms they by night brought into *Florence*, and seizing all the strong places of the City, summoned the people into the *Piazza*, and created a new *Balia*, who as soon as they Assembled, restored *Cosmo* to his Country, with all those that were confined, and on the adverse Party banished *Rinaldo de Albizi*, *Ridolfo Perruzzi*, *Nicholas Barbadori*, and *Palla Strozzi*, with many other Citizens, in such vast numbers, that there were few Towns in *Italy* to which some were not confined, and many places out of *Italy* were filled with them. By which accident *Florence* was not only much dis-peopled but rob'd of its

Cosmo restored and *Rinaldo* with others banished.

riches

riches and Industry. The Pope seeing the ruin of those men who at his desire had laid down Arms, was extremely discontented, and condoled with *Rinaldo* for the wrong done him under his Faith and Credit, exhorting him to patience and by some happy change to hope for better Fortune; To which *Rinaldo* answered: The want of Credit in those which should have believed Me, and my too easy reliance on you, hath ruined me and my Party; but I have most reason to blame my self that could imagine that you who were driven out of your own Country, could secure me in mine. I have had sufficient experience of the Dalliances of Fortune, and having never consided in prosperity, am less afflicted at Adversity; Knowing well, that fortune when she pleases may again favour me. But If she never do, I shall not be over-fond of living in that City, where Faction overrules the Laws; for that Country is only desirable where men may peacably enjoy their Friends and Estates, and not that where a man may be easily deprived of the latter; and the first, for fear of hazarding their own, in his greatest Necessity forsake him; for to the Wise it is less grievous to hear of the Miseries of their Country, than behold them with their Eyes; and more glorious to be accounted an honourable Rebel, than a slavish Citizen. So taking leave of the Pope full of Indignation, and blaming often his own Councils, and the coldness of his Friends, he went into Banishment. On the other side,

E e e e

Cosmo

Cosmo having Intelligence of his Revocation returned to *Florence*. Seldome has any Citizen, returning Triumphant after Victory, been received with such a Concourse of People, such acclamations of Joy, and such demonstration of an universal Affection, as He was upon his return from Banishment; the Citizens voluntarily saluting him with the Titles of *The Peoples Benefactor*, and, *The Father of his Country*.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

THE
FLORENTINE
HISTORY,

Written by

Nicholas Machiavel.

BOOK V.



Provinces, in their Change of Government, for the most part run from order to disorder, and from disorder to order again; for constancy being by nature denied to sublunary things, as soon as they are mounted to a height of perfection, they must of force descend; and being fallen into disorder, and thereby come to their utmost declination, they must by the same necessity (since they can fall no farther) rise: Thus ever from good there is a descent to evil, and from evil an ascent to good; for Virtue begets

5 A

quiet,

quiet, Quiet idleness, Idleness disorder, and Disorder ruine; in like manner Ruine produces order, Order virtue, and Virtue glory with good fortune. Whence the prudent have observed, That Learning follows Arms, and in all Cities and Countries Captains were before Philosophers: for virtuous and well governed Arms having obtained Victory, and Victory produced quiet, the fortitude of active minds cannot be corrupted by any more justifiable Idleness than the study of Letters, nor can Idleness with any so fair and specious pretence, creep into a well instituted Commonwealth. Which *Cato* (at the time *Diogenes* and *Carneades* came Ambassadors from *Athens* to the Senate of *Rome*) was perfectly sensible of; for seeing the Youth begin to follow them with great admiration, and perceiving the mischiefs might, by that honest Idleness, result to his Country, he caused it to be enacted, that hereafter no Philosophers should be received in *Rome*. And indeed, by these means are many Countries brought to ruine, till men grown weary of destroying one another, return (as has been said) to order; unless by some extraordinary force they are made utterly incapable of it. These Occasions, first by the means of the Ancient *Tuscans*, and afterwards of the *Romans* made *Italy* sometimes happy, and sometimes miserable. And though, on the ruines of *Rome*, nothing has been founded adequate to its glory (which possibly under some gal-

lant

lant Prince might have been effected) yet so much Virtue is revived in some of the New Cities, and New Governments that arose out of the *Roman* ruines, that though one has not attained the Command of the rest, yet they were so well united and linked together, that they were able to defend and free themselves from the incursions of Barbarous people. Among which, the *Florentines*, though not of any extent in Dominion, were as large as any in power; for being seated in the midst of *Italy*, rich and ready to offend, they either successfully sustained the Wars made against them, or brought Victory to that Party with whom they sided. From this Virtue in these New Principalities it proceeded, that though they never enjoyed any long time of quiet, yet the War was never very dangerous or terrible; for as it cannot be termed Peace, where Provinces are almost continually with Arms assaulting one another, so that cannot properly be called War, where the slaughter of Men, sacking of Cities, and ruine of Governments does not attend. And assuredly the Wars of these times were so weak and faint, that they were begun without fear, continued without danger, and ended without loss; so that that Virtue which long and lazy Peace used to extinguish in other Countries, became by the Cowardize of their own Arms extinct in *Italy*, as will plainly appear by what we shall now set down, from the Year 1434 to

5 A 2

1496:

1496: Whereby it may be seen how, in the Conclusion, the Fences were again broken down for strangers to enter at, and *Italy* became subject to them. And though the Actions of our Princes abroad, and at home, may not perhaps, for their glory and greatness, deserve to be read with that admiration due to the Ancients, yet possibly for some other quality they may merit to be considered with no less wonder; seeing so many brave and Noble people, by a few (and those ill disciplined) Souldiers kept in awe; and though, in the description of things in these decayed and corrupt times, you may find no relation of any Valour in Souldiers; Conduct in Generals, or love of their Country in Citizens; yet you may discover with what cunning, craft and policy, Princes, Souldiers and heads of Commonwealths (to maintain a Reputation they had never deserved) managed their Affairs, which possibly may be of no less advantage to Humane Society than the other; for as those stir up noble minds to follow their Example, these will incense us against them, and provoke us to fly and eschew them.

The Condition of
Italy, 1433.

ITALY was, by those which Governed it, reduced to such Terms, that whenever upon the Reconciliation of any Princes or States a Peace was concluded, it was presently again, by those that had the Arms in their hands, disturbed; so that no glory was gained by War, nor no quiet by Peace. Wherefore, no sooner was the Peace concluded

cluded in 1433, between the Duke of *Milan* and the *League*, but the Souldiers, to keep themselves in Exercise, turned their Arms upon the Church. There were at this time in *Italy* two sorts of Souldiers; those trained up under *Braccio*, and those under *Sforza*: The last were commanded by the Earl *Francis*, Son of *Sforza*; and the first had *Nicholas Piccinino*, and *Nicholas Fortebrace* for their Leaders. And to these two Bodies almost all the rest of the Souldiers of *Italy* united themselves. Of these two, *Sforza's* Division had the greater Reputation, both because of the Earls Valour, and of the Promise made him by the Duke of *Milan*, to give him *Bianca* his Natural Daughter in Marriage, the hopes of which Alliance added much to his esteem. After the Peace of *Lombardy*, these two Armies (upon different occasions) assaulted Pope *Eugenius*. *Fortibrace* moved to it out of the ancient Grudge born by *Braccio* to the Church, and *Sforza*, by his own Ambition; so that whilst *Nicholas* assailed *Rome*, the Earl made himself Lord of *La Marca*: Whereupon, the *Romans*, to avoid the War, drove *Eugenius* out of *Rome*, who, with danger and difficulty escaped to *Florence*: where, considering the peril he was in, seeing himself abandoned by those Princes, who before, so desirous of Peace, would not for his sake renew the War, agrees with the Earl, and grants him the Signory of *La Marca*; though the Earl to the injury of

War made
on the
Pope by
Sforza, and
Fortibrace.

The Pope
makes
peace with
Sforza.

having seized on it, had added Reproaches, subscribing his Letters to his Agents, for setting out the Land in *Latin* words, according to the *Italian* Custome, *Ex Givifalco nostro, invito Petro & Paulo*. Nor was he content with the grant of the Land, but would be made *Gonfaloniere* of the Church; all which was consented to, so much more fearful was *Eugenius* of a hazardous War than of a dishonourable Peace. The Earl thus become the Popes Friend, prosecuted *Nicholas Fortibrace*, and betwixt them, in the Territories of the Church, for several Months happened sundry Accidents, more to the damage of the Pope and his Subjects, than of those that made the War: Till at last, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Milan*, an Agreement by way of Truce was made between them, and both remained Princes in the Territories of the Church. This War thus quenched at *Rome*, was kindled afresh in *Romania* by *Battista de Canneto*; he first murdering in *Bolonia* some of the Family of the *Grifoni*, then drove the Popes Governour, and other his Enemies out of the City: And, to hold that State by Force, craved Aid of *Phillip*; whilst, the Pope to revenge the Injury, demanded assistance of the *Venetians* and *Florentines*. Each Party had the desired Aid given them, so that on a sudden Two great Armies infested *Romania*. *Nicholas Piccinino* was General for the Duke, and the *Venetian* and *Florentine* Forces were led by *Guatamelata*,
and

War in
Romania.

and *Nicholas Tolentino*. Near *Imola* they came to a Battle, wherein the *Venetians* and *Florentines* were overthrown, and *Nicholas Tolentino* sent prisoner to the Duke; where, either made away by Treachery, or o'repressed with Grief for his Misfortune, he soon after dyed. The Duke, after this Victory, either because he was weakned by the former Wars, or imagining the Col-leagues after such an overthrow would be quiet, pursued his Fortune no farther, but gave the Pope and his Confederates time to unite themselves: who chose Earl *Francis* for their Captain, and made an attempt to drive *Fortibrace* out of the Church Territories, thereby, to put an end to that War they in the Popes favour begun. The *Romans* seeing now the Pope grown powerful, sought his Friendship, and received a Governor from him. *Nicholas Fortibrace*, among other Towns; was in possession of *Tiboli Montefiasconi*, the City of *Castello* and *Asceci*. Into this last *Nicholas* (not able to keep the field) was fled, where the Earl besieged him, and the Siege continuing somewhat long, (for *Nicholas* manfully defended himself) the Duke thought it necessary, either to hinder the League from obtaining this Victory, or to contrive matters so, that after it he might be in condition to defend himself; therefore, to make the Earl raise his Siege, he commands *Nicholas Piccinino* to march by the way of *Romania* into *Toscany*; whereupon the Confederates judging it of
greater

Fortibrace
victorious,
and van-
quished.

greater concern to defend *Toscany* than take *Ascesi*, commanded the Earl to stop *Nicholas's* passage, who was already advanced with his Army to *Furli*: Whilst the Earl, upon the receipt of his Orders, moves with his Army, and comes to *Cesena*, leaving the Care of the War in *La Marca*, and of his own Estates, to his Brother *Lione*. Whilst *Piccinino* thus sought a passage, and the Earl to obstruct it, *Nicholas Fortibrace* falls upon *Lione*, and to his great Renown takes him, plunders his Carriages, and pursuing his Victory, surprizes in an instant many Towns of *Romania*. This Misfortune much afflicted the Earl, who fearing to lose his own Estates, leaves part of his Army to confront *Piccinino*, and with the remainder marches directly towards *Fortibrace*, fights and o'recomes him. In this Battle *Fortibrace* was sorely wounded and taken prisoner, and soon after, of his wounds, died. By this Victory the Pope was restored to all the Lands taken from him by *Nicholas Fortibrace*, and the Duke of *Milan*, reduced to Terms of demanding Peace; which, by the Mediation of *Nicholas d'Este*, Marquis of *Ferrara*, was concluded, and by it, all the Towns which the Duke possessed in *Romania* restored to the Church, and the Dukes Army withdrawn into *Lombardy*; so that *Buttista Cannelto* (as generally happens to all those who are supported in a Dominion by the Power or Valour of others) so soon as the Dukes Forces were retreated out of

of *Romania* (his own strength or courage being insufficient to defend him) was forced to flee from *Bolonia*, and Messer *Antonio Bentivoglio*, Head of the contrary Party entered that City. All these things happened during the time of *Cosmo's* Banishment. After whose return, those who had recalled him, and divers other Citizens before injured, consulted without any respect or reserve, how to secure themselves in the Government; for the Senate, which in the Months of *November* and *December* succeeded in the Magistracy, not satisfied with what their Predecessors had done in favour of their Party, prolonged and changed the Confinements of many, and Confined many others anew. Nor was the fullepness of the Factions so prejudicial to the Citizens, as their Riches, Kindred, and private Friendships: So that had this prescription been accompanied with Blood, it might have been compared to those of *Octavius*, or *Sylla*; yet was it in some measure stained with Blood; for *Bernardo Guadagni* was Beheaded, and four Citizens more; among which were *Zanobi Belfratelli*, and *Cosmo Barbadori*, who having passed their Confines were taken at *Venice*; and the *Venetians* valuing more *Cosmo's* friendship than their own Honour, had sent them home Prisoners, where they were basely put to death; which increased the Reputation of *Cosmo's* Party, and struck Terrour into their Enemies, considering that so potent a Commonwealth should sell their

The numerous
Proseri-
ptions of
the *Florentines*.

New Or-
dinaues
in Florence.

their Liberty to the *Florentines*, which yet was thought to be done, not so much out of kindness to *Cosmo*, as to inflame the Spirits of the Factions, and make the Division of the City, by means of the Blood thus shed, more implacable and destructive; for the *Venetians* foresaw there could be no greater obstacle of their greatness, than the union of our City. The City thus cleared of Enemies, and all that were but suspected by the State, they applied themselves to shew their Kindness to a new sort of People, the better to confirm their Party; restoring the Family of the *Alberti*, and all other the Rebels to their Country. All the Grandees, except a very few, were brought into the Orders of the People, and the Possessions of the later Rebels sold amongst them at small prizes. Next, they strengthened themselves with New Ordinances, and made New Imborsations, taking out their Enemies Names, and filling the Purfes vvith their Friends. And vvarned by the Ruine of their Enemies, they thought it not enough to have the Purfes thus replenished vvith Choice men; but to establish their Government the firmer, they consulted how to have the Magistrates, appointed for Life and Death, elected out of the Chiefs of their Party; and to that end required, that those appointed to make the Imborsations, should (together vvith the Old Senate) have authority to create the Nevv. They gave to the Eight of the Guard power of Life and Death;

Death; and enacted, that those Confined, though their time were expired, should not return, unless 34 of the Senate and Colledge (which consisted but of 37) should consent to their Restitution; they prohibited all writing to, or receiving Letters from any in Exile. And every Word, Sign, or Action, at which those in rule were pleased to take offence, were severely punished; and if there were any new suspicion started in *Florence*, which came not within the former bounds, it was by new mulcts or fines, by them imposed, punished, and thus having driven out or impoverished all the adverse party, they secured themselves in the Government. And that they might not want assistance from abroad, but prevent those who by Foreign force might design to offend them, they made defensive leagues with the *Pope*, *Venetians*, and Duke of *Milan*. Things thus settled in *Florence*, *Joan* Queen of *Naples* dies, and by her last will and Testament makes *Reyner* of *Anjou* heir of that Kingdom. *Alphonso* King of *Arragon* was at the same time in *Sicily*, who confiding in the friendship of several *Neapolitan* Barons, makes preparation to possess himself of that Kingdom: but the *Neapolitans*, and many of the Barons, favoured *Reyner*. The *Pope* on the other side was unwilling to admit either *Reyner*, or *Alphonso*; but would have it governed by his Lieutenant: yet *Alfonso* invades the Kingdom, and is by the Duke of *Sessa* received, and entertains several of the Princes

Joan
Queen of
Naples
dies.

Princes in his pay, with design being once entered *Capua* (which the Prince in *Alphonso's* name possessed) to force the *Neapolitans* to a compliance; sending his fleet to attack *Gaieta* which held for the *Neapolitans*. Whereupon they of *Naples* crave aid of Duke *Philip*, who perswades the *Genovesi* to assist them, and they not only to satisfy the Duke their Prince, but to secure the Merchandizes they had in *Naples* and *Gaieta*, armed out a powerful fleet. Which, *Alfonso* having intelligence of, strengthens his, and goes in person to encounter the *Genovesi*, whom engaging near the Island of *Pontio*, he received a total discomfiture, being himself with many other Princes taken, and by the *Genovesi* sent prisoners to *Philip*. This Victory terrified all those Princes of *Italy*, who stood in fear of *Philip's* greatness, believing he had now an opportunity to make himself Lord of all; but he (so different and various are men in their Judgments) took a course quite contrary. *Alfonso* was a prudent man, and as soon as he came to discourse with *Philip*, he demonstrated to him, "How much he deceived himself in favouring *Reyner* against him; for if *Reyner* came once to be King of *Naples*, he would with all his power endeavour to reduce *Milan* under the Command of France, that he might have easier assistance thence, and not have the way still to force open for his relief when he stood in Necessity. Nor could he otherwise secure himself, but by the ruin of that Duke-

Alphonso
King of
Sicily
taken Pri-
soner by
the *Geno-
vesi*.

dom, and making of it French, whilst the quite contrary must follow, were he King of *Naples*; for having no Enemy but the French to fear, he should be constrained to love, honour, and obey him who had the only power to open a way to his enemies, so that the title of the Kingdom would indeed reside in *Alphonso*, but the Authority and power in *Philip*. Wherefore it much more concerned him than himself, to consider the benefit of the one and prejudice of the other; unless he were more intent to please his fancy than secure his state: for on one side he would be a Prince, and free, on the other (placed between two powerful Princes) he must either lose his State, live in continual jealousy, or obey them as their Servant. These words made such impression in the Duke's mind, that changing purposes, he releases *Alphonso*, returning him honourably to *Genova*; who thence transports himself to *Gaieta*, which upon the first News of his delivery, had been surprized by some Lords of his Party. The *Genovesi* seeing the Duke had, without any notice taken of them, released *Alphonso* (assuming honour to himself at their expence and hazard, for to him remained all the gratitude due for his enlargement, and to them only the regret for his defeat and Captivity) were extremely incensed against him. In the City of *Genova*, whilst it was at liberty, they were wont by free votes to create a head whom they called *Doge*, not as absolute Prince to determine matters of himself, but as President of a Council,

Alfonso
released by
Duke *Phi-
lip*.

Council, or speaker of a Parliament, to propound Matters whereof the Magistrates and Councils should consult. This City has many Noble families so powerful, that with difficulty they submit to the Commands of the Magistrates, and amongst the rest the *Fregosi* and *Adorni* claim one of the cheifest ranks: From these arrive the Divisions of that City, and the corruption of civil orders; for many times not only fighting among themselves, but taking Arms against the Government, it happens that one party is oppressed, and the other rules, and often those which are deprived of their Dignity, have recourse to Foreign assistance; submitting that Dominion which they cannot enjoy themselves to the jurisdiction of strangers. Whence it frequently followed, that those who reigned in *Lombardy*, commanded *Genova*, as now at the taking of King *Alphonso* happened. Among the chief of the *Genoveses* that occasioned the submission of that City to *Philip*, was *Francis Spinola*, of whom (as it often happens to those that betray their Country into Servitude) the Duke not long after grew Jealous; whereat discontent, he had made choice of a kind of Voluntary Exile at *Gaieta*, where Residing when the Sea-fight hapned with *Alfonso*, and Behaving himself valiantly in that encounter, he thought he had afresh merited so much of the Duke, that he might at least live securely at *Genova*; but finding the Duke still continued his Jealousies (for he could

Francis
Spinola the
cause of
the *Geno-
va's* Servi-
tude at-
tempts to
free them.

not

not believe, that a man who loved not the liberty of his Country could love him) he determined once more to try his Fortune, and at one push restore Liberty to his Country, and Fame and Security to himself; for he saw there was no other way to gain a good opinion with his fellow Citizens, than to make the hand that gave the wound to heal it. And perceiving the universal indignation conceived against the Duke, for discharging King *Alphonso*, he thought it now a fit opportunity to put his design in execution, and communicates this his determination to several, whom he knew to be of the same Opinion, perswading and encouraging them to joyn with him in it. It was on the solemn Feast of *St. John Baptist* when *Arifmino* (a new Governour sent from the Duke) entred the City, accompanied by *Opicino* the old Governour, and many *Genoveses*: *Francis Spinola* now thought fit no longer to delay the Attempt, but sallying out of his House with those that were privy to his Determination, and coming into the publick Market-*place*, against which his Palace stood, openly proclaimed the Name of *Liberty*. 'Twas miraculous to see with what alacrity and readines the people ran to that very Name; so that none, that either for their own Benefit, or any other Advantage, loved the Duke, had time either to take Arms, or scarce to consult which way to flie. *Arifmino*, and some *Genoveses* with him, fled into the Castle, which

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was

Genova re-
covers its
Liberty.

was kept for the Duke. *Opicino* presuming, if he could recover the Palace, where he had 2000 Souldiers under his Command, he might either save himself, or encourage his Friends to defend him, fled thitherwards; but before he could reach the *Piazza* was slain, and his Body torn in several pieces, drag'd about the whole City. And the *Genovese* having thus reduced the City under their own free Magistrates, within few daies after took the Castle, and all the other strong Places, garrisoned by *Philip*, clearly casting off the yolk of *Milan*. This success changed the face of things; for, whereas before all the Princes of *Italy* were terrified, fearing least the Duke should grow too powerful, they had now some hopes he might be dealt withal, and stopt in his carrier; and notwithstanding the League lately made, the *Venetians* and *Florentines* made Peace with the State of *Genova*: Whereupon *Rinaldo de Albizi*, and other principal Men banished out of *Florence*, seeing these Disturbances, and the course of things changed, entertained a hope they might perswade the Duke to an open War with *Florence*; and coming to *Milan*, *Rinaldo* addresses himself to the Duke in this manner; That *We*, once your Enemies, should thus confidently come to crave your assistance, to restore us to our Country, cannot be wondred at either by you, or any other that considers worldly Affairs, how strangely they proceed, and how variable they are: for we can produce mani-

Rinaldo de Albizi perswades the Duke of *Milan* to War with *Florence*.

fest

fest and reasonable Excuses of our past and present Actions, both to you, and to our Country. None can blame that Man, that strives to defend his Country, in whatsoever manner he defend it: Nor did we ever design to injure you, but to guard our Country from Oppression; for which we appeal to your self, who can testifie, That when the League was in a full course of Victory, no sooner perceived we you inclined to a solid Peace, but we were more earnest for it than your self. So that we are not conscious of having done any thing, should make us doubtful of obtaining favour from you: Nor can our Country complain, that we now encourage you to employ the same Arms against it, which, with so much obstinacy we once defended it from; for that Country deserves to be Beloved by all its Citizens, that bears an equall Love to all its Citizens, and not that which adoring some few, Post-pones all the rest. Nor let any one in General terms condemn all occasions of taking up Arms against our Country; for though Cities are bodies mixed, yet have they with simple bodies some resemblance; and as in these, many infirmities, are bred, which without burnings and incisions cannot be Cured, so in the other oftentimes happen those Inconveniencies and disorders; that a good and godly Citizen, where fire and Sword are necessary, would sin more in leaving the wounds uncured, than in applying those sharp remedies. And what greater Malady can a republick groan under, then Servitude? or what is

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more

more proper and necessary, then that a fit remedy be applied to so violent a temper. That War only is just which is necessary, and those Arms pious, where no other hope is left. What Necessity can be more pressing then ours, or what piety greater, then to redeem our Country out of Slavery? Doubtless then our cause is just and merciful, which both you and we ought first to consider: Neither is Justice wanting on your part, since the Florentines have not been ashamed, after a league so solemnly, and so lately agreed on, to conclude a peace with the Rebelling Genovese. Therefore if for our sake you will not, yet let your own cause move you, and that the rather, because of the facility of the Enterprize; Nor let the Examples past affright you, whereby you have Experienced the power and obstinate defence made by that people, both which might reasonably deter you, were that City still as virtuous as before, but now alas! tis quite the Contrary, for what Force is to be feared from that City, which has so lately despoiled it self of its riches and industry? what resolution can be expected in a people divided by so many new and various enmities? which disunions will be the cause why the riches they have yet left, cannot be employed in such manner as formerly: for men willingly expose their Patrimonies, when they see them expended for their own Glory and the Honour and Safety of their Country, hoping to reap that advantage by Peace, which War deprives them of; but the Case is quite otherwise, when both in War and Peace the

behold

behold themselves oppressed, forced by one to suffer the Injury of their Enemies, and by the other the Insolency of their Governours; because the Avarice of their own Citizens is more prejudicial to a People, than the spoil of their Enemies; for they live still in hopes to see a conclusion of this, but despair ever to behold an end of that. Besides, in former Wars, you assailed a whole City, and are now to wage War only against the smallest part of it; You attempted then to take away the Power from many Citizens, now you assail only a few wicked Usurpers; You then sought to deprive a City of its Freedom, but now you endeavour to restore it to Liberty. And it is not reasonable to imagine, but such disparity of occasions must produce as different effects; nay, you may almost conclude of certain Victory; which, how much it will fortify your State you may easily judge; having made Tuscany your friend by the ties of such high and considerable Obligations, which in all your Enterprizes will stand you in more stead, than the whole Force of Milan; and, whereas, at other times, this Invasion would be branded as Violent and Ambitious, 'twill now gain the Epithites of Just and Compassionate. Let not therefore this opportunity slip, but consider that as your former Attempts upon this City, were attended with difficulty, damage and disgrace; this will be Crowned with success, advantage and honour. There needed not many words to perswade the Duke to a War with Florence; for he that

is commanded by an hereditary Hate, and blind Ambition, is easily led to any thing; and the fresh Injuries of the *Genoveses* made him the more inclinable: but yet, the remembrance of his vast Expences, the Hazards he had been exposed to, and the Losses he had so lately sustain'd, somewhat startled him.

The Duke
endea-
vors to re-
cover Ge-
nova.

This Duke, as soon as he had intelligence of the Revolt of *Genova*, had sent *Nicholas Piccinino*, with all his Men at Arms, and as many Foot as he could levy in the Country, against that City, to reduce it by force, before the Citizens had their minds settled, or had established a new Government; confiding in the Castle of *Genova*, which still held out for him. And though *Nicholas* drove the *Genovese* up the Mountains, and took from them the Vale of *Pozzovari*, where they had Fortified themselves, constraining them to retire within the Walls of their City, yet he found so many stops and difficulties, and so much resolution in the *Genovese* to defend themselves, that he was content at last to retreat. Whereupon the Duke, at the motion of the banished *Florentines*, gave order to assault the River on the Eastern Confines, and to prosecute the War towards the Country of *Pisa* with all vigour imaginable, believing this Attempt would, from time to time, chalk him out the way how to proceed farther: whereupon *Nicholas* besieges *Serazana*, and takes it; and after having laid waste many places, the more to increase the *Florentines* Jealousie, he comes

to *Lucca*, giving out, That he was marching into the Kingdom of *Naples* to assist the King of *Arragon*. Pope *Eugenius* upon these new Accidents leaves *Florence*, and goes to *Bolonia*, where he treats an Accommodation between the Duke and the League; declaring to the Duke, that if he would not consent to the Agreement, he should be necessitated to consign over Earl *Francis* (at present his Confederate, and under his pay) to assist the League: but though the Pope took a great deal of pains in this Affair, his labour proved all in vain; for the Duke would consent to nothing unless *Genova* submitted, and the League would have that City free: whereupon, in despair of Peace, all sides prepared for War. *Nicholas Piccinino* being come to *Lucca*, the *Florentines* Jealous of some new Design, caused all their Forces, under the Command of *Neri di Gino*, to march into the Country of *Pisa*, and prevailed with the Pope that Earl *Francis* should joyn with him, and the whole Army make head at *Santi Gondi*. *Piccinino* who lay at *Lucca*, desired free passage to the Kingdom, which being denied him, he threatned to force it. The Armies were equal in Men and Captains, and therefore both wary of tempting Fortune; and besides, withheld by the cold Season (for it was now *December*) lay many daies without any Action on either side. The first that Moved was *Nicholas Piccinino*, who being informed, That if he stormed

Vico Pisano by night, he might easily take it, made the Attempt; but not having the good fortune to carry it, he sacke all the Country, pillaging and burning the Borough of *St. John alla Vena*. The success of which enterprize, though in effect to little purpose, encouraged *Nicholas* to proceed farther, especially seeing the Earl and *Neri* yet stirred not: whereupon he assaults *St. Maria in Castello*, and *Filletto*, and carries them. Yet for all this the *Florentine* Army lay still, not that the Earl was afraid, but because the *Florentine* Magistrates, out of respect to the Pope who endeavoured for Peace, had not yet decreed the War; but what the *Florentines* did in prudence, their Enemies attributed to Cowardize, and thence took Courage to proceed to new Actions: whereupon, concluding upon the taking of *Barga*, they presented themselves before it with all their Forces. The Besieging this Town made the *Florentines* lay aside all respects, and resolve not only to relieve *Barga*, but to fall upon the Territories of *Lucca*: whereupon, the Earl advanced towards *Piccinino*, and engaging him near *Barga* overcame him, forcing him, in great disorder, to raise his Siege. Mean while the *Venetians* judging the Duke had broken the Peace, sent *John Francisco de Gonzaga*, their General, to *Gbiaraddada*, vvho ravaging and spoiling the Dukes Country, forced him to recall *Nicholas Piccinino* out of *Tuscany*, which

The Dukes
Forces un-
der Picci-
nino defea-
ted.

Revo-

Revocation, together with the Defeat before given to *Nicholas*, put the *Florentines* in such heart, that they resolved to attack *Lucca*, vvith great hopes to become Masters of it: Nor had they indeed any great reason to fear it, or vvere by any respect obliged to refrain it, since the Duke, whose Forces only awed them, vvvas diverted by the *Venetians*; And the *Lucchesi* having received and quartered their Enemies, and encouraged them to the assault of their Towns, could not now complain of any wrong done them: In April 1437 the Earl set forward vvith his Army; but before the *Florentines* vvould make the Assault upon others, they thought fit to recover their own, and retook *Santa Maria in Castello*, and all the other places taken by *Piccinino*; and then entering the Territories they besieged *Camajore*, vvwhose Inhabitants, though faithful to their Lords, yet fear of a present Enemy prevailing over their fidelity to distant Friends, they yeilded: and with like Reputation vvere *Massa* and *Serazana* surrendered; which done, about the latter end of May the Army drew towards *Lucca*, all the vvay as they vvvent destroying the Corn, burning the Villages, cutting down the Trees, rooting-up the Vineyards, driving away the Cattle; and in a word, acting all the Out-rages and Hostilities, the most enraged Enemy would or could do. Whilst on the other side, the *Lucchesi* seeing themselves forsaken by the Duke, and despairing

Lucca
distressed,

to

to defend their Country, had deserted it: And vvith Ramparts, Trenches, and all other convenient Fortifications, strengthened their City, not doubting but having men enough within, they might for some time defend it, as in former Assaults made by the *Florentines* they had done: they only feared the mutable mind of the Common-people, who perhaps, wearied with the Siege, would be more concerned for their private danger, than for the Liberty of their City, and so force them to some base and dishonourable Composition. Wherefore, to heighten their Resolutions, they assembled them in the Market-place; where one of the gravest and wisest Citizens, spake in this manner: *You ought alwaies to remember, that what's done out of Necessity deserves neither commendations nor blame; and therefore, if you should complain that we have occasioned this War by receiving the Dukes Forces into our Territories, and permitting them to assault the Florentines, you are much in the wrong. You know well the ancient Enmity born to this State by the Florentine people, which no Injury of yours, nor Jealousie of theirs, but only your Weakness, and their Ambition hath occasioned; for the first gives them hopes to oppress you; and the last encourages them to perform it. Nor can you well imagine that any desert in you can quench, or any injury to them inflame their desires of offending you. Wherefore, as they strive to rob you of your Liberty, you must labour*

labour to defend it; and at what either Party shall do to those ends, though all maybe grieved, none can wonder: for though it may afflict us to see our Territories invaded, our Towns sacked, our Houses burnt, our Country destroyed; yet none can be such a fool to admire at it, since, were it in our power, we should do the like to them or worse: And, whereas they have begun this War upon Piccinino's coming hither, had he not come they would have found some other pretence, and perhaps the danger being deferred would have proved greater; we ought not therefore to blame his coming hither, but our own hard Fortune, and their Ambitious Nature: for we could not refuse the entrance of the Dukes Forces into our Dominions, nor when they were entred, hinder them from prosecuting the War. You know that without some powerful Alliance we cannot be defended, and what Potentate more proper to do it, both for Force and fidelity, than the Duke: He restored our Liberty, 'tis reasonable he should defend it: He hath been a constant persecutor of all our ancient Enemies; if then, by not offending the Florentines we should have incurred his Anger, we had both lost our Friend, and made our Enemy more powerful, and more apt to offend us: So that it is much better to have this War with the Dukes love, than Peace with his displeasure: And we have reason to hope he will rescue us from those dangers in which he hath engaged us, provided we do not forsake him. You know well with what

what rage the Florentines have oft-times assaulted us, and with how much glory we have defended our selves; even then when we had no other hope than in God, and Time, and both of them miraculously preserved us: and if then we defended our selves, why should we despair of doing it now? All Italy had then left us as a prey to them: now we have the Duke on our side, and may reasonably believe the Venetians will be slow in offending us; for the greatness of Florence will not be consistent with their Interest: In former Actions the Florentines were more at freedom, and in more hopes of Assistance, and we in all points weaker; for then a Tyrant defended us, now we defend our selves: the glory accrued then to others, now 'twill be our Own: then united they assaulted us, now in dis-union; all Italy being filled with their Exiles. Finally, were none of these things so, Necessity should urge to a resolute defence. 'Tis reasonable to withstand every Enemy, for they all prosecute their own glory with our ruine; but above all we ought to dread the Florentines, whom our Obedience, Tribute, and Subjection will not content, but who aim at our Persons and Estates; with our Blood to satiate their Cruelty, and with our Substance their Avarice: so that all sorts and degrees among us ought to have them in detestation. Be not therefore dismayed to see your Fields spoiled, your Towns burnt, your Castles garrisoned or demolished; for if we save our City, they will easily again be recovered, but losing it,

it, all will with it be utterly lost: preserving our Liberty, hardly can the Enemy preserve our Towns; but losing our Freedom, in vain possess we any thing else. Stand therefore to your Arms, and when you fight remember, That the reward of Victory will not only be the safety of your Country, but of your Houses, your Wives, and your Children. These last words so animated the whole Multitude, that with an universal Cry they all promised rather to die, than yeild, or consent to any Terms infringing their Liberty; and prepared all things necessary for the Defence of a City. Mean while the Florentine Army lay not Idle; and after unexpressible Damage done to the Country, took Monte Carlo on Articles, and from thence went and encamped before Uzzano, that the Lucchesi, begirt on every side, might become hopeless of any relief, and constrained by Famine, yeild. The Lucchesi (as it was but reasonable) seeing themselves thus streightned, had recourse to the Duke for Aid, by all kind and obliging means recommending themselves to his favour; sometimes in their Speeches setting forth their own Merits; sometimes the Oppressions of the Florentines; and how much Courage it would add to his Friends, if he defended them; and how dis-hearten them, if he left them defenceless; and if they should lose their Lives and Liberties, He, with his Friends, would lose his Honour and Credit with all those who, for His sake, should here-]

Lucca
craves Aid
of Milan.

hereafter run themselves into any danger: adding Tears to their Speeches, to the end, that if the Obligations he had to them could not move him, Compassion might. Inſomuch, that the Duke having his old grudge againſt the *Florentines*, now joyned with his freſh Obligation to the *Luccheſi*, and above all, deſirous the *Florentine* Power ſhould not be increaſed by ſuch an addition, determined to ſend a great Army into *Toſcany*, or ſo fiercely aſſail the *Venetians*, that the *Florentines* ſhould be glad to raiſe their Siege to come and aſſiſt them. This Reſolution taken, Intelligence was ſoon brought to *Florence*, that the Duke was ſending Forces into *Toſcany*, ſo that their hopes of Succeſs began to flag: however, that the Duke might be diverted in *Lombardy*, they ſolicited the *Venetians* to ſet upon him with all their Forces. But they were already diſheartned by the Marquis of *Man-tova*'s forſaking them, and taking the Dukes pay: whereby, being in a manner diſarm'd, they replyed, that they were ſo far from being able to appear in a better poſture, that they ſhould not be capable to keep the field, if Earl *Francis* were not ſent to be their General, with Condition, that he ſhould oblige himſelf in Perſon to paſs the *Po*; for they would not ſtand to the old Articles, by which he was not obliged to paſs it; alleadging, that without a General they could not make War, and on none but the Earl could they rely, nor on him neither,
unless

unless he were obliged to make War in all places. The *Florentines* were of opinion the War ſhould be hotly purſued in *Lombardy*; and on the other ſide, without the Earl, they deſpaired of ever carrying *Lucca*: and very ſenſible were they, that this Demand of the *Venetians* was not made ſo much out of any neceſſity they were in of the Earls preſence, as to hinder them of this Victory: On the other ſide, the Earl was to go into *Lombardy* whenever the League appointed him, but he would not change his Covenants, unwilling to deprive himſelf of the hopes of that Alliance promiſed him by the Duke. Thus were the *Florentines* diſtracted between two diverſe Paſſions, The deſire of having *Lucca*, and, The fear of a War with the Duke. But (as for the moſt part it happens) fear prevailed, and they were content that the Earl having taken *Uzzano*, ſhould go into *Lombardy*. There remained yet another difficulty, which not being in the *Florentines* power to compoſe, perplexed them, and created more doubts than the former: for the Earl would not paſs the *Po*; and the *Venetians*, if he did not, would not entertain him. So there being no way of accommodation to be found, but by the one yeilding to the other, the *Florentines* perſwaded the Earl, that he ſhould write a Letter to their Senate, obliging himſelf to paſs that River; alleadging, that a private Promiſe could not make a breach of publick Covenants, and that
he

he might afterwards make War without passing it; only this advantage would accrue to them, That the *Venstians* having begun the War, would be forced to prosecute it, and thereby give a diversion to those Forces they so much feared: and to the *Venetians*, on the other side, they affirmed, That this private Letter was enough to oblige him, and therefore they ought to content themselves with it; for if they could contrive how the Earl might still preserve his Respects to his Father in Law, it were convenient to do it, and would be no way either for his or their advantage, without manifest necessity to discover it. Thus was the Earls passage into *Lombardy* contrived; who having taken *Uzzano*, and raised some Bulwarks about *Lucca*, to streighten the Besieged, leaving the Charge of the War to his Lieutenants, he passed the *Alps* and comes to *Reggio*; where, the *Venetians* grown jealous of his proceedings, to make tryal of his intentions, dispatcht away a Messenger to him with Orders to pass the *Po*, and joyn the rest of their Forces; which the Earl utterly denying to do, there happened many reproachful words between him and *Andrea Mauroceno*, who was sent from the *Venetians*; the one telling the other, that he had a great deal of Pride, but little faith; and several protests being made, by the one That he was not obliged to the Service, and by the other, That there should be no Mony paid. The Earl returned into *Toscany*,

Distrust
between
the *Vene-*
tians and
Florentines.

Toscany, and *Maurocena* to *Venice*. The Earl was by the *Florentines* quartered in the Country of *Pisa*, and they were still in hopes to induce him to renew the War against *Lucca*, which they found he had no great inclination to; for the Duke understanding that out of respect to him he had refused to pass the *Po*, thought he might by his mediation save *Lucca* likewise, and therefore desired him to consent, to make Peace between the *Lucchesi* and the *Florentines*, and (if he would) include him also; putting him in hopes he should, when he pleased, be married to his Daughter. This Alliance tickled the Earl, being in hopes by means of it (the Duke having no Male issue) to make himself one day Lord of *Milan*: wherefore he delayed the *Florentine* proceedings, declaring he would not stir till the *Venetians* had made full payment of his Conduct Mony: nor was their pay sufficient; for designing to live securely in his own Estates, he thought it convenient to have other supports than the *Florentines*; and if he were deserted by the *Venetians*, it was time to look about him; cunningly threatning and intimating an Agreement with the Duke. These Deceits and Cavils vexed the *Florentines* at heart; for they not only beheld *Lucca* lost to them, but were in fear of their own Estates, whenever the Duke and Earl should joyn together: And to induce the *Venetians* to make payment of the Mony promised,

Difference
between
Venice and
Florence
about pay-
ing Sforza.

Cosmo de Medici went to *Venice*, believing by his Reputation he might incline them to it. The Matter was at large disputed in their Senate: The state of *Italy* laid down before them, what force the Duke was of, and where the strength and reputation of Arms now lay; and that if the Duke and Earl did joyn, the *Venetians* would be driven to Sea, and the *Florentines* in danger of their Liberty. To which the *Venetians* replied, That they knew their own strength, and that of *Italy*; affirming, It was not their Custom to pay Souldiers that served others; wherefore the *Florentines* should take care to pay *Sforza*, since he had done them Service; but certainly it were fitter if they would possess their City in security, to abase the Pride of the Earl, than pay him; for the Ambition of the man was boundless, and if now he were paid without doing Service, he would ere long demand something more dishonest and dangerous; - therefore in their opinion, they ought in time to find some way to bridle his Insolency, and not suffer him to become incorrigible; but if they either for fear, or any other design, thought fit to preserve his friendship, they might pay him if they pleased. Thus *Cosmo*, without effecting any thing, was fain to return: Yet the *Florentines* used their endeavours with the Earl, that he might not withdraw himself from the League; and he was indeed unwilling to desert them, but his earnest desire to

to conclude his Marriage kept the Balance so even, that the Scales upon every Accident (as one soon after happened) were ready to turn. The Earl had left the charge of his Towns, in *La Marca*, to one *Furlano* a principal Leader of his; who being long solicited by the Duke, discharged himself of the Earls Service, and entred into the Dukes pay; which made the Earl, out of fear to himself, lay aside all Respects, and come to an Agreement with the Duke; and one of the Articles was, That he should no farther concern himself in the Affairs of *Romania* and *Toscany*. Upon this Conclusion, the Earl instantly perswaded the *Florentines* to make Peace with *Lucca*, and indeed in a manner forced them to it; so that seeing no other remedy, in April 1438, Articles were concluded on; by which the *Lucchesi* still remained free, and the *Florentines* had *Monte Carlo*, and several other of their Castles left in their possession: then with Letters of Resentment they filled all *Italy*, declaring, That since God and Men had conspired that *Lucca* should not fall under their subjection, they had now made Peace with it: and seldome have any grieved more for the loss of their own, than the *Florentines* did, that they could not violently seize the Possessions of other men. In these times, though the *Florentines* had so many Irons in the fire, they forgot not to have a care of their Neighbours, and to adorn their City. *Nicholas Portibrace*,

Peace be-
tween
Lucca and
Florence.

who had married a Daughter of Earl *Poppi*, was, as hath been said before, dead. That Earl had at *Nicholas's* death, the Borough of *St. Sepulchro*, with the Castle, in his hands; which he held during his Son in Law's life, as Governour under him; after whose death, he pretended still to keep possession of them for his Daughters Dower, refusing to surrender them to the Pope, who (as of right belonging to the Church) had demanded them: whereupon he sent the Patriarch with Forces to recover them: the Earl doubting himself unable to endure the shock, offers the Town to the *Florentines*, who refused it; but at the Popes return to *Florence*, mediated an accommodation between him and the Earl, and finding some difficulty in the agreeing them, the Patriarch assaulted *Casentino*, and took *Prato*, *Vecchia* and *Romena*, and in like manner offered them to the *Florentines*; who refused the acceptance of them, unless the Pope would first consent they might restore them to the Earl; to which the Pope, after tedious Disputes agreed; but would first have the *Florentines* promise, that the Earl should surrender the Borough. The Popes Affair thus settled, the *Florentines* thought convenient (their Cathedral Church called *St. Reparata*, which had a long time been building, being now brought to such perfection that Divine Service might there be celebrated) to request his Holiness in Person to Consecrate it, who readily consented, and

The Pope
Conse-
crates the
Cathedral
of *Florence*

and for the greater Magnificence of the City and Church, and to do the Pope more Honour, a Terrace was built from *St. Maria Novella*, where the Pope resided, to the Church that was to be Consecrated, four yards wide, and two yards high, covered over with very rich Cloth, on which only the Pope and his Court, with the Magistrates, and those Citizens appointed to attend him, walked; the rest of the Commonalty and People, stood either in the Streets, in their Houses, or in the Church, to behold so glorious a spectacle. Having performed all the Ceremonies usual in such Consecrations, the Pope to give a greater Testimony of his love to the City, honoured with Knighthood *Giulian Avanzati*, then *Gonfaloniere* of Justice, and in all times accounted a Noble and worthy Citizen; and the Senate, to appear no less kind than the Pope, gave him the Government of *Pisa* for a year. In these times there was some difference between the *Roman* and *Greek* Churches about Divine Service, and because in the last Council held at *Basil*, much had been said about it by the Western Prelates, it was there determined, that all possible diligence should be used to induce the Emperour and the *Greek* Prelates to assemble in Council, and there to make tryal if they could reconcile the Differences, and consent to the *Roman* Church. And though this determination intrenched upon the Majesty of the Emperour, and much more grated

Difference
between
the *Roman*
and *Greek*
Churches.

on the proud spirits of his Prelates, to yeild to the Pope of *Rome*; yet being oppressed by the *Turks*, and considering they were not able of themselves to defend themselves, that they might with more security demand and rely upon the Western Assistance, they resolved to submit; and so the Emperour, Patriarchs, and other *Greek* Prelates and Lords, in order to an assembly (according to the Conclusion agreed on at the Council of *Basil*) came to *Venice*, where terrified with the Plague, they resolved in *Florence* to end their Differences; and after several Meetings of the *Roman* and *Greek* Prelates, and many long and tedious Disputes, the *Greeks* submitted, and came to accord with the Church and Pope of *Rome*. The Peace being concluded between *Florence* and *Lucca*, and between the Duke and the Earl, it was thought an easie matter to pacifie those Arms which still infested *Italy*, especially in *Lombardy* and *Toscany*: for as for the War in *Naples* between *Rinate* of *Anjou*, and *Alphonso* of *Arragon*, it could not be expected to be put an end to without the ruine of one Party: And though the Pope was dissatisfied, having lost many of his Towns, and that all men were sensible of the Ambition both of the Duke and the *Venetians*; yet, most thought the Pope out of necessity, and the others out of weariness would lay down their Arms: But things fell out quite contrary, for neither the Duke nor the *Venetians* would be quiet;

The *Greeks*
submit.

quiet; whence it happened that new Forces were raised, and *Lombardy* and *Toscany* again made Seats of War. The Dukes haughty mind could not endure the *Venetians* should be Masters of *Bergamo* and *Brescia*, especially seeing them in a Warlike posture, and daily molesting and disquieting his Country. He therefore supposed, that if they were once deserted by the Pope, the *Florentines*; and the Earl, he could not only stop their Carreir, but recover his own Towns. To compass which, he designed to take *Romania* from the Church; guessing, if he were Lord of that Province, the Pope could no way hurt him; and the *Florentines* seeing the fire at their own doors, either would not stir for fear, or if they did, must very disadvantageously assault him. The Duke also very well knew, how angry the *Florentines* were at the *Venetians* about the business of *Lucca*, and therefore thought they would not be over-eager to ingage in their quarrel. As for Earl *Francis*, he doubted not but the late Agreement, and the hopes of his Alliance would keep him steady; and that he might eschew all manner of offence, and give the less alarm, being by his late Articles with the Earl, bound not to invade *Romania*, he privately treated with *Nicholas Piccinino*, that he (as if led by his proper Ambition) should take that Enterprize in hand. *Nicholas*, at the time of making the Agreement between the Duke and Earl, was in *Romania*, and appeared

New Trou-
bles in
Lombardy
and *Tos-
cany*.

highly displeased at the Dukes entertaining a Friendship with his perpetual Enemy, and thereupon with his Army withdrew to *Camurata*, a place between *Furli* and *Ravenna*; where he incamped as if it had been for a long time, and with design to stay there till some new Expedition presented. And the fame of his anger and discontent being spread abroad every where, *Nicholas* sent to acquaint the Pope, how well he had deserved of the Duke, and how ingratelully he had been dealt withal by him; and withal let him know that *Philip* gave out, That having now all the Arms of *Italy* (under the two principal Captains) at his Command, he would seize the whole Province: But yet, if his Holiness pleased of those two Captains (the Duke perswaded himself to be at his dispose) one should become his Enemy, and the other be usefess to him; for if he would provide Mony and pay his Souldiers, he would fall upon those Estates the Earl had rob'd the Church of, and giving him his hands full in his own defence, hinder him from pressing forward the Dukes Ambition. The Pope believed this feigned Tale, it appearing reasonable to him, sends *Nicholas* five thousand Ducats, with mountains of Promises, offering Estates to him and his Sons. And though the Pope was often Advertized of the Deccit, yet he would needs believe it a Reality, and would hear nothing to the contrary. *Ostasio da Polenta* was now Governor

Nicholas
Paccino
cunningly
deceives
the Pope.

vernour of *Ravenna*, for the Church. *Nicholas* thinking it fit no longer to delay the execution of his Designs (his Son *Francis* having to the Popes great Ignominy already sackt *Spoleto*) resolved to besiege *Ravenna*; either because he thought it might easily be taken, or having some private Intelligence with *Ostasio*; however it were, in a very few daies lying before it, it was surrendered on Articles; and soon after *Bolonia*, *Imola* and *Furli* followed the same fortune: but what was most to be admitted, of all the Castles held for the Pope in that Territory not one but submitted to *Nicholas*. Nor did he think these injurious Actions wrong enough to the Pope, but with reproachful words he derided him; writing to him, That he had deservedly lost his Towns, since he had not been ashamed to make a breach of Friendship between him and his old Friend the Duke, by having filled all *Italy* with Letters, signifying, that he had deserted the Duke and joyned with him. *Nicholas* thus possessed of *Romania* leaves it in Charge to *Francis* his Son, and with the choice of his Army marches into *Lombardy*, and joyning with the Dukes Forces, enters the Territory of *Brescia*, which in a short time he becomes Master of, and besieges the City. The Duke, who was desirous the *Venetians* should be left as a prey to him, excuses himself to the Pope, the *Florentines*, and the Earl, declaring, That what *Nicholas* had done in *Romania*, it it were

Nicholas
seizes all
Romania.

Brescia
besieged.

were a breach of Articles, was also contrary to his Orders, and by private Messengers insinuated into them, that he would give evident demonstrations of the dislike of it, by punishing his disobedience when time and opportunity served. The *Florentines* and Earl gave no Credit to him, believing (as indeed the truth was) that the Attempt was made only to keep them at a bay, whilst he tamed the *Venetians*; who, proud and haughty (believing themselves able to oppose the Dukes Forces) vouchsafed not to ask any ones Assistance, but under *Gattamelata* their General maintained the War. Earl *Francis*, with the consent and favour of the *Florentines*, was desirous to have gone to the Assistance of King *Renate*, if these Accidents in *Lombardy* and *Romania* had not withheld him; and the *Florentines* were willing to have encouraged him to it, by reason of the ancient Amity between their City and the House of *France*; but the Duke favoured *Alphonso*, since the Friendship contracted in the time he was his Prisoner: however, both one and the other forbore whilst the War was at their own doors, undertaking distant Enterprizes. And now the *Florentines* seeing *Romania* surprized, and the *Venetians* assaulted (from others ruine, fearing their own) desired the Earl to come into *Toscany*, where they would consult what was to be done to oppose the Dukes Forces, which were now greater than ever; affirming, that

that if suddenly his Insolencies were not suppressed, all that held any States in *Italy* might justly fear to rue it. The Earl was sensible that the apprehensions of the *Florentines* were reasonable; yet his earnest desire to perfect an Alliance with the Duke kept him in suspense; and the Duke, who knew how much that desire swayed him, sed him still with hopes; and to restrain him from engaging against him, let him know that his Daughter was now Marriagable, and carrying on matters so far, that preparations were made for the Wedding, which yet by some Cavils and Delaies was again obstructed: However, to keep fair, and gain the former Credit with the Earl, the Duke added works to his words, sending him Thirty thousand Florins, which, by the Marriage Contract he was to pay him. Still the War grew hotter in *Lombardy*, and the *Venetians* daily lost some Town or other; and all the Vessels of War that they had sent up the River, were by the Dukes Forces taken; the whole Territory of *Verona* and *Brescia* by them possessed, and those two Cities so streightly Belieged, that it was generally thought they could not long hold out. The Marquis of *Mantoua*, vvho had many years been General of the Forces of that Republick, even beyond all belief, had forsaken them, and joyned vvith the Duke; so, that what their Pride would not let them do in the beginning of the War, their fear made them submit

The War
grows hot
in *Lombardy*.

submit to in the progress of it. For now, seeing there vvas no remedy, but engaging the *Florentines* and the Earl, they sought their Friendship, though it were with shame and doubt of Success; for they vv ere jealous least the *Florentines* should return them the same Answer they had received from them in the business of *Lucca*, and concerns of the Earl: But they found them readier than they hoped for, or than their Deportment had deserved; for hatred to an ancient and inveterate Enemy prevailed in the *Florentines*, above their Resentments and Anger conceived against old and tried Friends: And having long since foreseen the Necessities into vv hich the *Venetians* would fall, they had endeavoured to convince the Earl that their Ruine vv ould likewise be his; and that he deceived himself, to believe the Duke vv ould esteem him less in his good than evil Fortune; for the reason of the Dukes promising him his Daughter, being only the fear he stood in of him, those things Necessity makes men promise; it must likewise make them perform; and therefore it ought to be his design still, to keep the Duke in the same Necessity, which without the *Venetians* greatness could not be done. Wherefore he ought to consider, That if the *Venetians* were driven from the firm Land, he would not only want those Conveniencies he might receive from themselves, but even those, vv hich all others for fear of them, might other-

otherwise contribute; and if he well considered the other States of *Italy*, he vv ould find some of them poor, and others his Enemies. Nor were the *Florentines* alone (as himself had often said) sufficient to support him; so that upon all accounts, it was his main Concern to preserve the *Venetians* power on the Continent. These persuasions added to the Hate newly conceiv'd by the Earl against the Duke, for thinking himself mocked in the Alliance, made him consent to an Agreement; yet would he not be obliged to pass the River *Po*. These Articles were concluded in February 1438, by vv hich the *Venetians* agreed to pay two thirds, and the *Florentines* one third of the Charge; and both bound themselves to the defence of the Earls Territories in *La Marca*, at their proper Costs. Neither was the League yet content with these Forces, but joyned to themselves the Lord of *Faenza*, the Sons of Messer *Pandolfo de Malatesta de Rimini*, and *Piero Giampagolo Orsino*: but though with large Promises they tempted the Marquis of *Mantona*, yet they could by no means withdraw him from the Dukes Pay and Friendship; and the Lords of *Faenza* (after the League had concluded and settled their establishment) finding a better Bargain, revolted to the Duke; which put the League out of hopes of so soon dispatching the Affairs of *Romania*, as they once thought. At this time in great distress vv as *Lombardy*, for *Brescia* was so

The *Venetians*, *Florentines* and Earl *Francis* make a new Agreement 1438.

The Dis-
tress of
Lombardy.

so closely besieged by the Dukes Forces, that all men thought it would be forced through Famine to surrender: Nor was *Verona* in any better condition; and in the judgment of most men, either of these Cities being taken, all further preparations of War would be in vain, and all the expence hitherto made, be lost. So, that now there was no other remedy to be proposed, but the marching of Earl *Francis* into *Lombardy*. In which there appeared Three main difficulties; First, The disposing the Earl to pass the *Po*, and prosecute the War every where: In the second place, The *Florentines* were extremely apprehensive of being left at the Dukes discretion, if the Earl were drawn off from their Assistance; for the Duke could easily retire into his strong holds, and with part of his Army attend the Earls motions, and with the remainder, joyning with their Rebels, come into *Toscany*; the fear of which extremely terrified the present Government. The third was, Which way the Earl should march to joyn with the rest of the *Venetian* Forces, which lay in the Country of *Padona*. Of these three Difficulties the second which concerned the *Florentines* was the most doubtful; yet they sensible of the necessity, and tired with the *Venetians* importunity, who incessantly demanded the Earls Advancing, declaring, That without him they must abandon all, submitted the fear and suspicion of their own safety to the necessities of their Allies.

So

So there now remained only the difficulty of the Way, which was concluded must be secured by the *Venetians*; and because *Neri di Gino Capponi* had been successful in making the Agreement with the Earl, and perswading him to pass the *Po*, the Senate thought fit to send him Express to *Venice*, to endear this favour to that Senate, and to consult about the Way, and security of the Earls passage. *Neri* takes his way to *Cesena*, and from thence by Sea to *Venice*; nor was there ever any Prince received with more Respect and Honour by that Senate; for on his coming, and on what by his means they were to order and determine, they thought the Honour and Safety of their Empire depended. *Neri* being admitted into the Senate, addressed himself to the Duke in this manner: Those Lords that sent me (most Serene Prince) have ever been of opinion, That the Dukes greatness would be the ruine of this State, and of our Commonwealth; and therefore the welfare of both States depends on your Greatness and ours; had this been believed by your Lordships we should have found our selves in a better condition, and your Estates would have been secured from those dangers which now threaten them; but because in due time you gave no Credit to us, we were made incapable of applying quick Remedies to your Disasters, and you of readily demanding them; for you have not studied us either in your Adversity or Prosperity, nor perhaps do you yet know that it

*Neri Cap-
poni sent
to Venice*

His Speech
to the Se-
nate.

it is our temper still to love those we have once loved, and alwayes to hate them against whom we have once justly conceived a hatred. Be your selves the Witnesses of the love we have ever born this most Noble Senate, by the knowledge you have, how, to our own apparent damage, we have often sent our Forces into Lombardy to your assistance and succour; and the whole World can testifie the hate we bare Philip, and his whole Family: Nor can such ancient Love, and so settled a Hatred be easily cancelled. We were, and are certain, that in this War we might have stood Neuters, to the Dukes infinite satisfaction, and no great hazard to our selves; for though, by your ruine, he should become Lord of all Lombardy, yet would the remaining Force of Italy be sufficient to keep us from despair; for with Power and Dominion Envy and Enemies increase, which are usually attended with War and destruction. We are likewise very sensible how vast an Expence might have been avoided by our declining this War; how many eminent dangers we might have escaped: for wherem Lombardy is now made the Seat of it, by our assisting you it may be carried into Tuscany: Yet our ancient Affection to you has made us banish all those jealousies and suspicions, and we have resolved with the same power and affection to assist you, as we would defend our selves if we were Assaulted. Wherefore, My Lords, judging it of absolute necessity, before all things, to relieve Verona and Brescia, and believing without the Earl

it

it could not be done, we sent first to perswade him to pass the Po, and make War in all places; for you know he was not obliged to pass that River; yet have I disposed him to it, prevailing with him by the same Reasons that prevailed over us: And as he seems to be invincible in Arms, so he will not be overcome in Courtesie, but contends to be the superiour in that Generosity and Liberality he beholds in us towards you, for he knows well to how many dangers Tuscany is exposed by his drawing thence his Forces: yet seeing we have Postponed our own safety to your relief, he will not prefer any Respects or Interests of his own before it. I come therefore to offer you the Earl, with seven thousand Horse, and two thousand Foot, ready to go any where whither you shall Command him, to find out your Enemies. I intreat you therefore (and it is also both my Lords and His Request) That as the Numbers of his Men exceed what he is obliged to serve with, so your Liberality will extend to him a proportionable Recompence; that he may not repent his coming into your Service, nor we be sorry that ever we encouraged him to it. This Speech of Neri's to the Venetian Senate, was listned to with as much Attention as if it had proceeded from an Oracle, and so much did his words move the whole Auditory, that not having the patience (according to Custome) to let the Prince return him an Answer, they all rose up, and lifting up their hands with tears of Joy (many of them) in their Eyes,

5 D

return

returned thanks to the *Florentines* for so friendly an Assistance, and to him for having with such speed and celerity dispatched it; promising, That no process of time should ever blot the memory of it out of theirs, or the hearts of their Posterity; but that their Country should be in Common to the *Florentines* and them. These Kindnesses and Congratulations ended, they began to Consult what way the Earl had best March, that Bridges might be erected, Passages levelled, and other Securities provided. Four Waies were proposed; one from *Ravenna* along the Sea-side, but this being narrow, and streightned by the Fenns and Marishes, was not approved: The next was by the Direct way; but that was impeached by a Tower called *Uccellino*, kept for the Duke, which must of necessity be won before passage could be had, and that was hard to do in so short a time; for the least delay might rob them of an Opportunity of relieving their Cities, which above any thing required haste and diligence: The third was by the Woods of *Lugo*; but because the *Po* had o'reswell'd its Banks, that Passage was made not only difficult but impossible. There remained only the fourth, which was by the Champion of *Bolonia*, and so passing at *Ponte Puledrano*, at *Cento* and at *Pieve*, march between *Finale* and *Bondeno* to *Ferrara*, from whence, by Land and Water, they might easily Transport themselves into the Country of *Padoua*, and joyn with the

the *Venetian* Forces; though there was in this Way many difficulties, and possibly some Passes might be Guarded by the Enemies Forces, yet, as less dangerous than any of the rest, it was pitcht upon; which was no sooner signified to the Earl but with admirable celerity he Advances, and on the 20 of *June* came into the Country of *Padoua*. The coming of this Captain into *Italy* gave such Courage to the *Venetians*, and all their Subjects, that whereas before they despaired of their own Safety, they began now to think of Conquering others. The Earl in the first place marches to the Relief of *Verona*, to stop whose passage *Nicholas* with his Army advances to *Soave*, a Castle seated between the Territories of *Vicenza* and *Verona*, and encompassed with a Ditch cut from *Soave* to the Marishes of *Adice*: the Earl perceiving his passage through the Plain thus impeached, thought he might yet pass the Mountain way, and so get between his Enemy and *Verona*, imagining, that either *Nicholas* would not believe he would adventure that way, being so rough and craggy, or when he did believe it, it would be too late to stop him; and having provided eight daies Provisions, advances with his whole Army over the Mountains, and arrives under *Soave* in the Plain: for though *Nicholas* had fortified some Posts, and raised some Bulwarks to impeach his passage this Way, yet the Works and Guards, as not much regarded,

Sforza
comes
into *Italy*.

proved too weak to withstand him. *Nicholas* therefore seeing his Enemy, contrary to all imagination, got into the Plain, that he might not be forced to fight upon disadvantage, retreated on the other side the *Adice*, and the Earl without any opposition enters *Verona*. The Earl proving thus successful in his first Attempt, and with so much ease raising the Siege of *Verona*, the next thing to be undertaken was the relief of *Brescia*. The City is so well seated upon the Lake of *Garda*, that though it be blocked up by Land, it may still be supplied with Provisions by Water; which had made the Duke, with several strong Parties, fortifie himself upon the Lake, and in the commencement of his Victories, had garrisoned all those Towns that might send *Brescia* any Relief by the Lake. The *Venetians* likewise had Gallies there, but not of strength enough to oppose the Duke. The Earl therefore judged it requisite, with his Army on Land to assist those Forces on the Water; for, by their joynt power, he was in hopes he might easily win the Battle; he encamped therefore against *Badilino*, a Castle seated upon the Lake, hoping, if he took that, the others would surrender. The Earl in this Enterprize found Fortune averse to him, for here great numbers of his Souldiers fell sick, so that forced to raise his Siege he retreated to *Zmo*, a Castle of *Verona*, a place both plentiful and healthful. *Nicholas* seeing the Earl retired, to the

the end he might not let slip this opportunity of making himself Lord of the Lake, leaves his Camp at *Vegosia*, and with a select Party goes to the Lake, where with great Courage and fury he assaults the *Venetian* Fleet, and took almost all of them: After which Victory, most of the Castles remaining on the Lake surrendered to him. The *Venetians* terrified at these Losses, and fearing least *Brescia* should yeild also, by Messengers and Letters earnestly solicited the Earl to its relief. And the Earl perceiving all hopes of relieving it by the Lake cut off, and that by the Champion way it was impossible (by reason of the Trenches, Ditches, Bastions and Bulwarks, raised by *Nicholas*,) amongst which entring against an Enemies Army he hazarded a manifest defeat and loss, he determined by the way of the Mountains, as he had saved *Verona*, so to succour *Brescia*. The Earl having formed this design, Decamps from *Zemo*, and by the Vale of *Acri* Marches to the Vale of *St. Andrea*, and comes to *Torboli* and *Penda*, on the Lake of *Garda*, thence to *Tenna*; for to reach *Brescia* he must of necessity take that Castle: *Nicholas* having intelligence of the Earls intention, draws off his Army to *Peschiera*, and thence, with the Marquis of *Mantona*, and some Chosen men of his own, goes to face the Earl; whom engaging with he was defeated, his Army (quite broken and disordered) put to flight, many of his Men taken, and the rest escaping, part to the

Nicholas
Army
defeated

Camp, and part to the Gallies. *Nicholas* saved himself in *Tenna*, but night being come on, he began to imagine, that if he staid there till break of Day, 'twould be impossible but he must fall into the Enemies hands; so to avoid a certain danger, he adventured a very doubtful one. Of all his Men *Nicholas* had none now with him but one Servant a *German*, of very great strength of Body, and who had ever been very faithful to him: This Man *Nicholas* perswaded to put him in a Sack, and throwing him on his shoulders, as if he were carrying some Forrage for his Master, convey him to some place of safety. The Camp lay still round about *Tenna*; but overjoyed with their Victory the day before, were in great disorder, and very negligent of their Guards; so that it was easie for the *German* to secure his Master; for having laid him on his shoulders, and being clad like a Porter, he passed without any stop through the whole Camp, and brought him safely to his own Men. Had this Victory been as diligently prosecuted, as it was fortunately won, it might have proved of greater advantage to *Brescia*, and more happy to the *Venetians*: But the true use not being made of it, the joy was soon blown over, and *Brescia* remained in the same distress as before: For *Nicholas* being returned to his Camp, began to contrive with himself, how by some successful Exploit he might wipe off the stain of his late defeat, and deprive the

Piccinino's
strange escape.

the *Venetians* of all means to relieve *Brescia*. He knew very well the situation of the Cittadel of *Verona*, and by some Prisoners by him taken in that War, had understood both how slenderly it was Guarded, and in what manner it might easily be surprized. Wherefore he imagined that Fortune presented him with an opportunity to regain his Honour, and convert the Enemies Joy for their late Victory, into Grief for a more considerable Loss. The City of *Verona* is seated in *Lombardy*, at the foot of those Mountains that divide *Italy* and *Germany*, so that the City partakes somewhat both of the Plain and Mountain; the River *Adice* springing out of the Vale of *Trent*, at its entrance into *Italy*, distends not it self immediately through the Plain, but turning to the left hand along the side of the Mountain, finds out this City, and passes through the middle of it; not that it divides both partequally, for it leaves a much greater proportion on the side of the Plain, than of the Mountains: On the part towards the Mountain are two Castles, one called *St. Peters*, and the other *St. Felice*, which are stronger by Nature than by Art, and being seated very high, Command the whole City. On the Plain on this side *Adice*, and upon the Walls of the Town are two other Fortresses, distant the one from the other about a thousand paces, one of which is called the Old, and the other the New Cittadel; from one of these to the other, within

The situation of
Verona.

the City, is a Wall built which looks like a string to the Bow made by the ordinary Walls of the City, and all the space between one and the other is filled with Inhabitants, and called *Burgo de St. Zeno*. These Cittadels, and this *Burgh Nicholas* designed to surprize, which he thought might easily be done; as well because of the usual negligence of the Guards, as beleiving the late Victory had made them more careless, well knowing that no enterprize in War succeeds better than that, which the Enemy is confident you cannot compass, or dare not attempt. Having therefore chosen out a strong Party, he (with the Marquis of *Mantona*) goes by Night to *Verona*, and without being discovered, Scales and takes the new Cittadel, and from thence with his Infantry entring the Town, breaks open the Gates of *St. Antonio*, to give admission to his Horse. Those who for the *Venetians* had the Guard of the Old Cittadel, hearing first a noise, when the Guards of the New Cittadel were slain, and after, when the Gate was broke open, knowing they were Enemies, rung out the Bell, and sounded an Alarum; which the Citizens hearing, were all in amazement and confusion; and those who had most Courage took Arms, and ran to the Rectors or Governours Palace. *Nicholas's* Party had in the mean time sackt the Borough of *St. Zeno*, and proceeding forward; the Citizens finding the Dukes Forces were got into the City, and perceiving no way

Vicinio
surprizes
Verona.

way how to defend themselves, advised the *Venetian* Governours to retreat into the Fortresses, and save both their Persons, and the City; declaring, It was much better for them to save their own Lives, and preserve the Riches of the City to a more fortunate Conjunction, than by opposing the present fury, die themselves, and impoverish the Town for ever. Whereupon the Rectors or Governours, and all *Venetians* whatsoever, took the Castle of *St. Felice* for their Refuge; after which the Chief Citizens went to find out *Nicholas*, and the Marquis of *Mantona*, beseeching them, that they would rather with Honour enjoy that City rich and flourishing, than to their own Infamy suffer it to be made poor and miserable; especially, since from their former Masters they had not deserved thanks, nor from them hate for defending themselves. They were both by *Nicholas* and the Marquis comforted, and as much as possibly they could (in that heat of Military License) the City saved from spoil. And, because they were assured that the Earl would endeavour the recovery of the City, they strove with all imaginable Art and industry to get the strong places into their hands, and those they could not they began to divide from the Town with Works and Trenches, that the Enemy might have no entrance from thence. Count *Francis* was at *Tenna* when the first News of this Surprise was brought him, and he lookt upon

upon it at first as an idle Story; but when by more certain intelligence he understood it to be real Truth, he determined with diligence and expedition to repair so great a Neglect; and though most of his principal Officers advised him, that leaving both *Verona* and *Brescia* to themselves, he should make an Attempt upon *Vicenza*, that he might not by staying here be besieged by his Enemies; yet he would not consent, but resolved to make tryal of his Fortune in the recovery of that City, and turning in the midst of these doubts and suspensions to the *Venetian* Proveditors, and to *Bernardetto de Medici*, who was Commissary for the *Florentines*, he promised them certainly to regain the City if but one Castle held out. Putting therefore his Army in order, with unexpressible Celerity he marches towards *Verona*; upon advice of which *Nicholas* beleived, that (as his Officers had before advised) he was designed for *Vicenza*, but seeing him turn his Front towards the Town, and march directly up to the Castle of *St. Felice*, he began to give orders for Defence, but all too late; for the Trenches and Works were not yet finished, and the Souldiers out of greediness of the Spoil, were all divided and in disorder: nor could they be drawn together soon enough to make Head against the Earls Forces before they had reached the Castle; by which they descended into the City, and most happily, to the great shame

Earl Francis
by reco-
vers *Verona*.

shame and disgrace of *Nicholas*, and his whole Party repossessed it. *Nicholas*, together with the Marquis of *Mantona*, fled first into the Cittadel, and afterwards into the Plains of *Mantona*; where rallying the remains of their shattered Forces, they went and again joyned themselves with the Camp at *Brescia*. Thus was *Verona* in the space of four daies both taken and lost by the Ducal Army. After this Victory Winter being somewhat advanced, and the Season very Cold, the Earl having with much danger and difficulty supplied *Brescia* with Provisions, took up his Quarters at *Verona*, and gave Order that some Gallies should be built at *Torboli*, to the end, that by the first of the Spring he might be strong enough both by Land and Water to relieve *Brescia*. The Duke perceiving the War here at a stand, and his hopes of becoming Master of *Brescia* and *Verona* utterly cut off, and all this occasioned by the *Florentine* Money and Councils, whom, since neither the Injuries received from the *Venetians* could provoke, nor the large Promises he had made them perswade, to alienate their Amity from that Republick, he resolved (that they might nearer home reap the fruit of those seeds they had sown) to invade *Toscany*; to which he was both by *Nicholas*, and the Banished *Florentines*, encouraged; the first moved to it out of a desire to seize the Estates of *Braccio*, and drive the Earl out of *La Marca*; the other out of hopes to be re-

restored to their Country; and each had urged the Duke by the most pressing Arguments they could invent, to comply with their Desires. *Nicholas* told him, that he might both send him into *Toscany*, and still maintain the Seige at *Brescia*: for being Lord of the Lake, and his Camp towards the Land well fortified and furnished with all stores of War, having likewise other Captains and Souldiers to oppose the Earl; should he attempt any other Design, which would be almost a madness to do, till he had releived *Brescia*, and the Releif of it was in a manner impossible: So that he might both wage War in *Toscany*, and still continue it in *Lombardy*. Besides, the *Florentines* would be constrained, as soon as he was entered their Territories, either to call home the Earl or be lost, and which soever of these things happened gave him a certain Victory. The Banished *Florentines* alleadged; That as soon as *Nicholas* should with his Army draw nigh to *Florence*, it was impossible but the People, quite tired with heavy Taxes, and the more burthensome Insolence of their Great men, would take up Arms against their Magistrates; and, That the approaches were easie to *Florence*, and the way open by *Casentino*, by means of the Friendship between that Earl and *Rinaldo de Albizi*: Insomuch that the Duke being before inclined to it, was by their perswasions fully confirmed. Mean while the *Venetians*, though it were a very bitter

The Duke
designs to
invade
Toscany.

Winter,

Winter, left not off soliciting the Earl to relieve *Brescia* with his whole Army; in which the Earl denyed to comply with them, as a thing not to be done till Spring, and in that time they might get a Fleet in readines, and succour them both by Water and Land. But at this the *Venetians* were disgusted, and slackned their Provisions, so that their Army began to wast away. All which things being certainly known to the *Florentines*, extreemly disinayed them, seeing the War brought to their own doors, and little good done in *Lombardy*: nor were they less perplexed with the Jealousies they had conceived of the Forces of the Church; not that the Pope was then their Enemy, but that the Patriarch, who had more Command in that Army than the Pope himself, bore them a deadly Hatred. This was *John Vetteleschi Cornettano*, first Apostolick Notary, then Bishop of *Ricanati*, afterwards made Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and at last Cardinal, with the Title of Cardinal of *Florence*. This Man was both Couragious and Crafty, and knew so well how to play his game, that he was extreemly beloved by the Pope, and by him made General of all the Churches Forces, and Commanded in Chief in all the Popes Wars in *Toscany*, *Romania* the Kingdom, and at *Rome*: whereby he got such power in the Army, and over the Pope, that the last was afraid to Command him, and the first would Obey none but him. This Cardinal being with his

Forces

The *Florentines* in
great fear
of the
Patriarch.

Forces in Rome, at the time that the Rumour was spread abroad, that *Nicholas* designed to invade *Toscany*, redoubled the *Florentines* Fears; the Cardinal having ever since *Rinaldo's* banishment been a profest Enemy of their State, because the agreement made in *Florence* by his intermission was not observed, but rather managed to *Rinaldo's* prejudice, being the occasion of his laying down Arms, and giving his Enemies the power of expelling him. So that the Heads of the State were fearful the time was now come of repairing *Rinaldo's* damages, if he joyned with *Nicholas* in the Invasion of *Toscany*. And they were the more doubtful of it, because they imagined *Nicholas's* present departure out of *Lombardy* very unseasonable, leaving a Conquest almost perfected, for a very uncertain and doubtful one, which they could not believe, without some hidden intelligence, or secret intrigue, he would ever do. Of these their Suspicions they advertised the Pope, who was already sensible of his Error in giving too much Authority to others. But whilst the *Florentines* were in this suspense, Fortune shewed them the way how they might secure themselves against the Cardinal. This Republick kept in all places very diligent Spies to search all Letters carried too and fro, that they might the better discover any Contrivance against their State. It happened that at *Monte Pulciano* some Letters were taken, which the Patri-

Patriarch, without the Popes consent, had written to *Nicholas Piccinino*; and although they were written in unusual Characters, and the matter so knotty and implicate, that no certain sense could be made of them, yet that obscurity, joyned with the practices of the Enemy, so affrighted the Pope, that he determined to provide for his own safety, and committed the Charge of the Affair to *Antonio Rido* of *Padona*, then Governour of the Castle of *Rome*. He having his Commission, prepared to put it in Execution as soon as opportunity presented. The Patriarch had designed to go into *Toscany*, and being the next day to depart *Rome*, he sent to the Governour, that on the Morning early he should meet him on the Castle-Bridge, for he had something to discourse with him. *Antonio* thought now his opportunity was offered, and having given instructions to his Guards, at the time waits for the Patriarch on the Bridge, which being very near the Castle, for the more security of it had a Drawbridge in the middle, which, as soon as the Patriarch was past, stopping there to discourse with him, he made a sign to his Men to pull up the Bridge; so that the Patriarch in an instant, from General of an Army was become Prisoner to the Governour of a Fortress. The People that followed him began at first to make a Tumult; but understanding it was the Popes pleasure, they were pacified. And the Governour com-

The Patriarch imprisoned.

The Patriarch dies.

comforting the Patriarch with kind and Courteous speeches, giving him hopes all would be well: He answered; *That Great men were never taken to be let loose again; for those who deserved not to be imprisoned, did not deserve to be set at liberty; and so, soon after he died in Prison.* After whose death the Pope appointed *Lodovick*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, General of the Forces; and having hitherto refused to concern himself in the Wars between the League and the Duke, he was now content to become a Party, and promised to be in a readiness, for the defence of *Toscany*, with 4000 Horse, and 2000 Foot. Thus were the *Florentines* rid of this fear; yet still the fear of *Nicholas* remained, by reason of the confusion of the Affairs of *Lombardy*, and differences of Opinion between the *Venetians* and the Earl. Wherefore to beget a right understanding, they sent *Neri di Gino Capponi*, and *Giulian d'Avanzati* to *Venice*, giving them Commission to conclude how the War should be managed the year ensuing; and to *Neri* they gave farther Order, that having understood the minds of the *Venetians*, he should go to the Earl to know his, and to perswade him to such things as might be advantageous to the League, and necessary for their safety. These Ambassadors were scarce got to *Ferrara*, but they had intelligence that *Nicholas Piccinino* with 6000 Horse was passed the *Po*, which made them hasten all they could, and being come to *Venice*, they

they found that whole Senate resolute, that *Brescia* should without any delay be relieved; for, that the City was not able to hold out till Spring, or till a Navy were built; but if they found they had no other reliance, would yeild, which would make the Duke absolutely Victorious, and all their Territories on the main Land would be utterly lost. Whereupon *Neri* goes to *Verona* to hear what the Earl could alleadge against it; who demonstrated by solid Reasons, That the marching his Army in that Season towards *Brescia* would be to no purpose for the present, and a future impeachment of the design; for both in regard to the Time and Scituation, they could do *Brescia* no good but only disorder and tire his Army; so that when Spring came that was fit for Action, he must be forced to return to *Verona* for a supply of things necessary for the Service, which would be vainly consumed in Winter, and so all the time proper for War would be spent in going and coming. There were with the Earl to Consult of these things at *Verona*, Messer *Orsatto Justiniani*, and Messer *John Pisani* with them; after many Disputes, it was concluded, That the *Venetians* for the succeeding year should give the Earl 80000 Ducats, and to their other Souldiers forty Ducats each; and that they should sollicite, that they might with the whole Army take the field, and fall upon the Dukes Territories, that in fear of his own Estates

5 E

The Venetians resolved on the Relief of *Brescia*.

The Earls Reasons against it.

he might recall Nicholas out of Tuscany. Upon this Conclusion they returned to Venice. The Venetians (the sum of Money being so great) provided all things slowly. In the mean time Nicholas Piccinino proceeded on his Voyage, and had already reached Romania, where he had so far wrought with the Sons of Pandolfo Malatesta, that deserting the Venetians they joyned with the Duke. This revolution much displeased Venice, but more Florence, who were in hopes, by that way, to make some resistance against Nicholas; but seeing the Malatesti rebelled, they were dismayed, principally because they feared lest their Captain Piergiampagolo Orsini should be routed and rifled, and they thereby left disarmed. Nor did this News less daunt the Earl, who was afraid, by Nicholas's Invasion of Tuscany, he should lose La Marca; and desirous to save his own Estates he comes to Venice, and being introduced into the Senate he declared, *How that an Expedition into Tuscany would be advantageous to the whole League; for the War was to be prosecuted where the General and Army of the Enemy lay, and not where his Towns and Castles stood; for by defeating the Army the War is brought to an issue, but by taking Towns, and leaving the Army intire, the War oftentimes breaks out the fiercer.* Affirming, That La Marca and Tuscany were both lost, if Nicholas were not briskly opposed, and they once in the Enemies hands there

The Malatesti desert the Venetians, and joyn with the Duke.

Orsini's Speech to the Senate at Venice.

there was no remedy but Lombardy must needs follow; but though a remedy might be found to prevent it, he did not understand why he should abandon his own Subjects, and his own Friends; for he came into Lombardy a Lord, and would not return thence a private Leader. To all which the Prince replied: *That it was apparent that if he once with his Army went out of Lombardy, nay if he did but pass the Po, all their Estates on the main were lost; nor would they be at any farther expence to defend them; for he can't be thought wise who attempts to defend a thing he is certain to lose, and the infamy is left to lose Estate only, than Estate and Money too; but when their Dominion was once extirpate, 'twould soon be discovered, of what importance the Venetian Reputation was to the supports of Romania and Tuscany: And therefore they were of a quite different opinion to his; for they believed, that whoso'er came in Lombardy would overcome elsewhere, and the Conquest now was easie, the Duke's Estates being by Nicholas's departure left so weak, that they may be past repair before he shall or can recall Nicholas, or provide other Remedies. That whoever examined the bottom of things would find, that the Duke's sole end in sending Nicholas into Tuscany, was to draw the Earl from Lombardy; and remove the heat of the War from his own house elsewhere: So that if the Earl followed him (in case upon an extreme necessity) he would have the glory to see his designs accomplished, and his intentions*

The Senate Reply.

tions brought to effect; but if he had
 gained the Army in Lombardy, he
 the best provision they could in
 would discern his mistake too late
 had utterly lost Lombardy; and
 nothing in Tuscany. Thus every one ha-
 ving said, and replied according to his Opi-
 nion, they concluded to attend patiently
 some daies to discover what might be the
 effects of the Malatesti's Agreement with
 Nicholas, and if Pierogiampagolo might yet
 do the Florentines any Service, and whe-
 ther the Pope would be stedfast to the
 League as he had promised. Some few
 daies after this Conclusion, intelligence was
 brought, that the Malatesti had made that
 Agreement more for fear than any evil in-
 tentions; that Pierogiampagolo was marched
 towards Tuscany with his Forces, and that
 the Pope testified more alacrity to assist the
 League than at first; which Advice settled
 the Earls mind, and he was content to stay
 in Lombardy, and that Neri Capponi should
 return to Florence with 1000 of his Horse,
 and 500 others: And if things fell out so
 that there was a necessity of the Earls pre-
 sence, he should but write, and he leaving
 all things else would go. So Neri with his
 Forces came to Florence in April, and the
 same day arrived there likewise Giampagolo.
 Mean while Nicholas Piccinino having settled
 Affairs in Romagna, designed to make a de-
 scent into Tuscany, and intending to pass by
 the Alps of St. Bennet, and the Valley of
 Mon-

found that passage so well
 by the Valour of Nicholas da Pisa,
 thought all his strength would be
 to force it. The Florentines upon
 their privation being unprovided both
 of Souldiers and Leaders, had sent several
 of their Citizens with Foot, levied in haste to
 guard those Passes of the Alps, among whom
 was Bartholomew Orlandini, to whom
 was assigned the guard of the Castle of
 Marradi, and that pass of the Alps: Nicho-
 las Piccinino perceiving he could not force
 the pass of St. Bennet, because of the Va-
 lour of the Guardians, thought he might
 easily gain that of Marradi, because of the
 Cowardize of the Man appointed to defend
 it. Marradi is a Castle seated at the foot of
 those Alps that divide Tuscany and Romania,
 but on that part looking towards Romania,
 and in the beginning of the Vale of La-
 rone, though it be without a Wall, yet the
 River, the Mountain and the Inhabitants
 make it strong: for the Men are Warlike
 and faithful, and the River has so worn into
 the Land, and made such deep Caves and
 holes, that by the way of the Vale it is
 impossible to approach it if a little Bridge
 be defended; and on the Mountain side it is
 so steep and craggy, that it renders it very
 strong, and easily defensible: Yet the Cow-
 ardize of Messer Bartholomew made those
 men Cowhearted too, and the Castle seem
 weak and defenceless; for no sooner heard
 he a Rumour of the Enemies approach,

Nicholas
Piccinino
enters and
spoils the
Florentine
Territo-
ries.

but abandoning all this strength, he fled away with his Men, and never stoop till he came to Borgo St. Lorenzo. Nicholas entering the deserted places full of wonder that they were not defended, and a curiosity that he had gained them, passes forward into Mugello, where he takes several Castles, and at Praticello sits down with his Army, from whence he overruns, and forrages all the Country as far as the Mountains of Fiesole, and grew so bold, that he passed the Arno, spoiling and destroying the Country within three Miles of Florence. Yet were not the Florentines dismayed, but first of all applied themselves to settling the Government, of which they had little reason to doubt, so much good will the Citizens bore Cosmo, and besides the prime Offices of the City were reduced into the hands of a few potent Citizens, who with their severity bridled those who were any way discontented, or desirous of Novelty; they had likewise understood with what Forces Neri, by the Agreement in Lombardy, was to return; and in like manner were in expectation of the Popes Troops, which hopes till Neri's return kept them in heart; who finding the City in these disorders resolved to draw forth the Army; and so far awe Nicholas that he should not dare so freely to ransack the Country; and drawing a body of Foot out of the People, with those Horse he had, he marches out and retakes Remolli which the Enemy had garrisoned; where encamping, he

he prevented Nicholas's Incursions, and put the Citizens in hopes that the Enemy would be forced to remove farther from their Walls. Nicholas seeing that at what time the Florentines were without any Force in the City no Tumult nor Commotion happened, and understanding how quietly and securely they lived within, thought it in vain to lose more time, but resolved on some other Attempt, that so the Florentines sending their Forces after him he might necessitate them to come to a Battle; in which, if he had the better, he doubted not but all things else would succeed prosperously and well. There was in Nicholas's Army Francis Earl of Poppi, who when the Enemy lay in Mugello, revolted from the Florentines, with whom he was before in League. And though they having some suspicions of him, to engage his fidelity had increased his Pay, and made him Governor of all their Towns adjacent to his: Yet so powerful is the love of Factions in men, that no advantage nor fear could make him forget the affection he bore Messer Rinaldo; and those who had formerly governed the State; wherefore no sooner heard he of Nicholas's approach, but he joyned with him, and with all earnestness solicited him to withdraw from the City, and march into Casentino, setting forth the strength of the place, and how he might with ease from thence straighten his Enemies. Nicholas follows his Advice, and being come into

The Siege
of St. Ni-
cholas Ca-
stle.

Casentino, takes *Romena* and *Bibiena*, and then laies Siege to the Castle of *St. Nicholas*. This Castle is seated at the foot of those Hills which divide *Casentino* from the Vale of *Arno*, which standing high, and having within a strong Garrison, made a stout resistance notwithstanding *Nicholas* with Engines, throwing Stones, and other such Artillery, continually battered it. This siege had continued for above twenty daies during which, the *Florentines* endeavoured to draw together their Forces, and had already assembled, under several Captains, 3000 Horse, Commanded by *Pierogiampa* *gald* as General, and *Neri Capponi* and *Bernardo de Medici* as Commissaries. To these came four Messengers from the Castle of *St. Nicholas* to beseech them to relieve them: the Commissaries having well examined the situation of the place, found there was no way to bring them Relief, but by the Mountains which ascend from the Vale of *Arno*, the tops of which would be possessed by the Enemies Forces before theirs could reach them, they having the shorter way, and these having no means to conceal their coming: whereupon the Commissaries, prailing their fidelity, gave them Orders when they could no longer hold out, to surrender. So *Nicholas* took the Castle in two and thirty daies, and the losing so much time for so small a purchase was, in a great measure, the occasion of the loss of his whole business; for had he continued with his

his Army near *Florence*, he had put those which governed the City to great streights, who must with more Caution have strained Money from the People, with more difficulty have raised Men, or indeed made any other provision whilst the Enemy was on the backs of them, than when he was farther off; and perhaps many might have been inclinable to have secured themselves from *Nicholas* by Peace, since they were not able to do it by War. But the desire Count *Poppi* had to revenge himself of some Governors of Castles, had for a long time been his Enemies, made him give this Counsel; and for his satisfaction only *Nicholas* followed it, which proved the ruine both of the one and the other: And 'tis very rare that private Passion does not prove the impeachment of publick good. *Nicholas* pursuing his Victory, takes *Rassina* and *Chiusi*. In these parts Count *Poppi* perswaded him to stay, demonstrating, how he might, by dispersing his Forces in *Chiusi*, *Caprese* and *La Pieve*, become Lord of the Mountains; and at pleasure make his descents into *Casentino*, and into the Vales of *Arno*, *Chiana* and *Teverina* attending every motion of the Enemy; but *Nicholas* considering the roughness and cragginess of the place, told him, That his Horses could not eat stones; and so went thence to *Borgo St. Sepolchro*, where he found a kind reception. Whilst he was here, he made trial to gain the friendship of the Citizens of *Castello*, but they

they being friends to the *Florentines* would not hearken to him. Their being desirous to have the *Perugian* at his devotion, he went with forty Horse to *Perugia*, where being their Citizen he was honourably received, but in few daies they grew jealous of him, and he treated many things with the Legate, and with the *Perugians*, but perfected nothing. So receiving from them 8000 Ducats he returned to his Army. Next he drove a design how to get *Cortona* from the *Florentines*, but the Plot being discovered before Execution of it, all came to nothing. Among the Chief Citizens of that City was *Bartholomew Bensa*, he going by Order of the Governour to take Charge of the Guard at one of the Gates, was by a Countryman, his Friend, desired not to go, unless he had a mind to be killed, whereupon *Bartholomew* would needs know the meaning and depth of the Advice, and thereby understood all the Circumstances of the Plot, which he revealed to the Governour, who having secured the chief of the Conspirators, doubles the Guards at the Gates, and daies expecting according to the Appointment made, that *Nicholas* should come, who comes by Night at the assigned hour, but finding he was discovered retreats to his Quarters. Whilst these things were agitating in *Tuscany*, to the Dukes small advantage, *Lombardy* was not at quiet to his great damage and loss, for as soon as the Season permitted, *Earl*

Nicholas's
design to
surprize
Cortona
discover'd.

Francis

Francis draws his Army into the Field, and the *Venetians* having prepared a Navy on the Lake, he resolves first of all to make himself Master of the Water, judging if that were done other things would easily follow. Wherefore with the *Venetian* fleet he makes an assault upon the Dukes, overcomes them, and takes all the Castles that were garrisoned by *Philip*, whereupon the Ducal Forces, which by Land belieged *Brescia*, hearing the News of these Losses drew off, and thus after three years Siege *Brescia* was relieved. In pursuit of this Victory the Earl follows his Enemies, who were retreated to *Soncino*, a Castle on the River *Oglio*, dislodges them, and makes them retreat to *Cremona*, where the Duke made Head, and on that part defended his Estates. But the Earl strengthening himself every day more and more, fearful to lose part or all of his Estates, he began to be sensible of his unadvisedness in sending *Nicholas* into *Toscany*, and to correct his error he writes to *Nicholas*, letting him know in what condition his Affairs were, and upon what torturing terms he stood, and therefore desiring him, that leaving *Tuscany* he would with all speed repair into *Lombardy*. During this interval, the *Florentines* having assembled all their Forces and joyned with the Popes, made Head at *Anghiari*, a Castle seated at the foot of those Mountains that divide the Vale of *Tevere* and the Vale of *Chiana*, distant from the Borough of *San Sepulchro*

Earl Francis
raises
the Siege
of *Brescia*.

Nicholas
Piccinino
recalled
by the
Duke.

four

four Miles, a level ground fit for Horse Service, and indeed apt for all Actions of War. But because the *Florentines* had intelligence of the Earls Victories, and of the revocation of *Nicholas*, they thought the work already done before they drew their Swords; wherefore they wrote to their Commissaries that they should wave the Engagement, for *Nicholas* could not stay many daies in *Toschano*. This Commission coming to *Nicholas*'s knowledge, and seeing the necessity of his departure, that he might leave no home unturned, he determined they should fight, believing he might find them unprovided and out of order, as not designing a Battle; to which he was encouraged by Messer *Rinaldo*, Count *Roppi*, and other Banished *Florentines*, who beheld their own manifest ruine if *Nicholas* went thence; but by engaging him to a Battle they were in hopes either to gain the day, or lose themselves honourably. Having thus resolved, the Army advanced between the Cities of *Castello* and the *Borough*, and being come to the *Borough*, without their Enemies having any notice, they took from that Town 2000 Men; who confiding in the Valour and Promises of the General, and withall greedy of Spoil, followed him. Thence in Battalia *Nicholas* marches directly towards *Angiari*, and was come within less than two Miles, when *Michaelletto Attenduli* espied a great Dust, and conceiving it must be the Enemy, gives the Alarm. The Tumult

mult, was great in the *Florentine* Camp; for they generally encamping without any Discipline, to their disorder, Negligence was now added; for they not only beleived their Enemy at a great distance from them, but that he rather was intent upon flight than fight; so that every one was disarmed and wandring from their Tents, whither either their fancy, or the coolness of the shade led them: yet such was the diligence of the Commissaries and General, that before their Enemies got up to them they were Armed and on Horseback, ready to receive the Charge: And as *Michaelletto* was the first that discovered the Enemy, so he was the first that made Head against them, advancing with his Troops to make good the Bridge of the River, which crosses the way not very far from *Angiari*. And *Pierogiampagolo* having, before the Enemies coming, caused the Ditches to be filled and levelled which were on each side the Road, between the Bridge and *Angiari*, *Michaelletto* placing himself against the Bridge, *Simoncino* the Popes Colonel, with the Legat, drew upon the Right hand of him, and *Pierogiampagolo* and the *Florentine* Commissaries on the Left, and the Infantry was disposed on both hands on the Banks of the River: So that the Enemy had no open way to come and assault them but directly over the Bridge, nor the *Florentines* any where else to fight but on the Bridge, save only they had given Orders to the Foot, that if the Enemies Infantry went out of the way to flank the Men

Battle of
Angiari.

Men at Arms, they should Charge them with their Cross-bows, that they might not wound our Horses in the flank as they passed the Bridge. The first that Charged were by *Micheletto* bravely received, and soon by him repulsed; but *Astorre* and *Francis Piccinino* coming up with their select Troops, they Charged him so furiously that they gained the Bridge, and drove him to the foot of the Hill that goes up to *Angbieri*; but they were again repulsed, and driven back over the Bridge by those that Charged them in the flank. The Fight continued thus for two hours, and sometimes *Nicholas*, and sometimes the *Florentines* were Masters of the Bridge. And though upon the Bridge they had no advantage against one another, yet, both on this and that side the Bridge *Nicholas* fought at great disadvantage: for when any Party of *Nicholas's* passed the Bridge, they found great Bodies of their Enemies, which by the levelling of the Ditches had room to draw up; and those which were weary were still seconded by fresh reserves: but when the *Florentines* happened to pass, *Nicholas* could not conveniently send in fresh supplies because of the straightness and narrowness of the way, inclosed with Ditches and Trenches; so that though many times *Nicholas's* Men had passed the Bridge, yet by the supply of fresh Enemies they were always driven back. But when the *Florentines* had effectually won the Bridge,

and their Men entred into the Road, *Nicholas* wanted time, through the fury of his Enemies, and narrowness of the place, to draw in fresh supplies; so that the Van falling back upon the Rear, and disordering one another, all the Army was forced to fly, and most without knowing a Reason for it, ran towards the *Burgo*. Then fell the *Florentine* Souldiers to the plunder, which in Men, Money, and Horses amounted to a great Value; for with *Nicholas* there saved themselves not above 1000 Horse: Those Inhabitants of the *Borgo St. Sepolchra* that came for Prey, were made a prey of, being all taken and put to Ransom; their Colours and Carriages were all taken: yet this Victory was much more advantageous to *Toscany* than it was prejudicial to the Duke; for had the *Florentines* lost the Day *Toscany* had been his, but his loss was nothing but Arms and Horses which good store of Money would soon recruit. Neither could ever any War be made in anothers Country with less danger than in these times; for in so total a Rout, and so long a fight, which lasted four hours, there died but one Man, and he not by any valiant stroke, but falling from his Horse was trod to death; with so much security did men then fight; for being all on Horse-back, and covered with Arms, they were, while they fought, secure from death, and when they yielded there was no reason to kill them; so that fighting they were saved by their Arms, and yielding by

*Nicholas
Piccinino
defeated.*

The want
of Discipline
in
the Armies
of these
Times,

by Quarter. This Battle (both for matters happening in, and after it) is a great example of the ill management of those Wars: for the Enemy overcome, and *Nicholas* fled into *Burgo*; the Commissaries would have followed him and besieged that place to compleat their Victory; but many of the Captains and Souldiers positively refused to obey them, telling them, They would first secure their plunder, and dress the wounded, and then perhaps go; but what is more remarkable is, that the next day at Noon, without any leave of, or respect to the Commissaries or General, they went to *Arezzo*; and there leaving what spoil they had got, returned to *Anghiari*, a thing so contrary to all Military order, or any Warlike discipline, that any small remnant of a well-governed Army might easily, and deservedly have snatcht from them that Victory they had undeservedly gained; and 'tis worth our wonder to consider how such an ill-trayned Army should have so much Courage in them as to know how to Conquer, but 'tis much more wonderful that any Enemy should have so much Cowardize as to be beaten by such disorderly People. Whilst the *Florentine* Souldiers were going and coming from *Arezzo*, *Nicholas* had time to depart with his People from *Borgo*, taking his way towards *Romagnia*, with whom the *Florentine* Rebels likewise fled, who beholding themselves deprived of all hopes of ever returning to *Florence*, divided them-

themselves to several places of *Italy*, or out of it, according as suited with every mans Conveniency; of whom, *Messer Rinaldo Albizi* chose *Ancona* for his residence, from whence to gain himself a heavenly Country, since he had lost that here on Earth; he went to the Sepulchre of *Christ*, and upon his return thence, at the Marriage of one of his Daughters, fell down suddenly and died, in which fortune seem'd to favour him, that in the least unhappy day of all his Banishment she let him die. He was a Man worthy of Honour in all Fortunes, and would have certainly enjoyed more than he did, had Nature let him been born in any united City, for many qualities of his offended in a divided City, which in one united would have preferred him. The Commissaries, as soon as their Men were returned from *Arezzo*, and *Nicholas* gone, presented themselves before *Borgo*; the *Borgbesi* would have surrendred themselves to the *Florentines*, and they refused to accept them; however in treating the matter the Popes Legate conceived a suspicion, that the *Florentine* Commissaries had dealt underhand to rob the Church of that Town: so that many bitter and injurious words passed, and there had happened some disorder between the *Florentines* and *Ecclesiasticks*; had the Dispute lasted much longer; but things being concluded as the Legate would have them, all was pacified. Whilst these Debates were about *Borgo*, Intelligence

Death of
Messer
Rinaldo
Albizi.

was brought that Nicholas Piccinino was gone towards Rome, and others said towards La Marca; whereupon the Legate and Sforza's Horse thought it convenient to go to Perugia, to be ready to assist either Rome or La Marca if Nicholas should turn either way; and over them was appointed Bernardino Medici, and Neri with the Florentine Forces ordered to reduce Casentino; according to this determination Neri marched to Rassina, and took it, and going forward regained Bibiena, Prato Vecchio, and Komend, and from thence went and besieged Poppi, beleaguering it at two Posts, one in the Plains of Cerrumondi, and the other on the little Hill in the way to Franzoli. This Earl, seeing himself forsaken by God and Man, had shut himself up in Poppi, not out of any hopes of assistance, but to get the best terms he could: Being now begirt by Neri he demanded Conditions, and found them such as he might reasonably at such a time expect; That he should depart with his Wife and Children, and such Goods as he could carry with him, and leave his Lands and Estate to the Florentines. And whilst they were upon Capitulating, he came down upon the Bridge over Arno, which washes one side of the Town, and in a doleful and afflicted manner spoke thus to Neri: *Had I taken right measures of my Fortune, and your Power, I should have appeared now as a friend to congratulate your Victory, and not as an enemy to petition you*

Poppi Be-
sieged.

The Earls
Speech to
Neri.

Some-

somewhat to alleviate my Misery and Ruine; but as the present Chance is in your glorious and joyful, 'tis to me greivous and miserable: I had Horses, Arms, Subjects, Estate and Riches, and who can wonder if I am loath to part with them; but if you must, and will command all Tuscany, all must of force obey you? Had not I committed this Error, my Fortune had never been known, nor you had opportunity to shew your Liberality; for if you yet restore me you will leave to the world an eternal example of your Clemency. Let your Goodness surmount my Crimes, and let at least this only House descend to those, of whom your Ancestours have received many Services. Neri answered: As you have relied too much in those who were able to do little, so your Offences against the State of Florence have been so high, that, considering the conjuncture of Affairs, 'tis necessary you resign all your Estate, and quit those places as an Enemy to the Florentines, which you would not hold as their Friend; for you have given such an Example as ought not to be born with, nor you suffered in a place where, upon every Change of fortune you may damage the Commonwealth: for it is your Estates they fear, and not You, and if you could be a Prince in Germany that City would rejoyce at it, and for the love of those Ancestours you mention have an Esteem for you. To which the Earl in great Anger answered; He wist to see the Florentines at a far greater distance. And thus all kind discourse ceasing,

5 F. 2

the

the Earl seeing no other remedy, resigned his Lands and all his Concerns to the *Florentines*, and with all his Goods, Wife and Children, in tears departed, grieving to have lost an Estate which his Ancestors had for 400 years past, enjoyed. As soon as the News of these Victories was brought to *Florence*, it was by the Principal Men in the State, and by the whole People received with excessive Joy; and because *Bernardo Medici* found the Report false of *Nicholas's* being gone either towards *La Marca* or *Rome*, he returned to find out *Neri*, and they together came to *Florence*; where all those Honours were in ample manner conferred on them, which according to the Orders of that City can be allowed to Victorious Citizens, and they Triumphant wise received by the Senate, the Captains, and the whole City.

The End of the Fifth Book.

T H E

T H E
FLORENTINE
HISTORY,

Written by

Nicholas Machiavel.

BOOK VI.



There ever was (and it is but reason it should be so) the end of those that make War, to enrich themselves and impoverish their Enemies; neither is Victory for any other end sought after, nor Conquest desired, but to make our selves Mighty, and our Adversaries Weak: Wherefore, whenever Victory impoverishes, or Conquest weakens, they either exceed or come short of those ends for which War is made. That Prince or Commonwealth is by the Victories of War enriched, who utterly roots out his Enemies,

and remains sole Lord of the Spoils and Ransoms ; but those are by Victory impoverished, who, though they overcome cannot extirpate their Enemies, and the Spoils and Ransoms belong not to them but to their Souldiers. Such a Prince is unhappy in loss, and most unhappy in Victory ; for losing he must undergo all the Injuries the Enemy can do him, and winning endure the Offences of his Friends, which, as they are less reasonable are more insupportable ; especially, seeing himself necessitated to burthen his People with new Taxes and Impositions ; and surely, no Prince (that has any humanity) can rejoyce at that Victory which makes all his Subjects sad. Ancient and well ordered Commonweals were wont by Victories to fill their Treasury with Gold and Silver, to distribute Gifts among the People, to release their Subjects from Tax or Tribute, and to exhibit solemn Shows and Triumphs ; but those of the Times we are now writing of, first emptied their Treasuries, and then impoverished the People without securing them from their Enemies ; for only plundering their Enemies, and neither keeping them Prisoners nor killing them, the Revenge was no longer deferred, than whilst the adverse Leader was replenished with Horse and Arms. Besides, the Spoils and Ransoms being the Souldiers, the Victorious Princes wanting them to employ in new Wars were forced to extract all their Expences from the very bowels

bowels of their Subjects, nor gained the People any other advantage by Victory, but that the Prince became thereby more greedy and less respectful of burthening them ; for the Souldiers had brought the War to that pass, that both the Conquerour and Conquered (if they would command their own People) stood in daily need of more Mony, the one to reinforce them, and the other to reward them ; for the first, without being again Horsed and Armed could not, and the latter, without being Rewarded would not fight : whence it hapned, that the one enjoyed little of the Victory, and the other was scarce sensible of the loss ; for the Conquer'd had time to recruit, and the Conquerers lost all opportunity of pursuing the Victory : This disorderly and perverse way of proceedings in War made *Nicholas Piccinino* be again remounted, before his loss was well known in *Italy*, and make a fiercer War upon the Enemy after his defeat than he did before : This enabled him after the discomfiture of *Brescia* to surprize *Verona*, and after the loss of most of his People at *Verona*, with a great Army to invade *Toscany* ; by this means, after the rout of *Anghiari*, before he reached *Romagnia*, he grew stronger in the Field than he was at first, and encouraged the Duke of *Milan* once again to hope he might defend *Lombardy*, which, by reason of his absence, seemed to him almost lost : for whilst *Nicholas* made those stirs in *Toscany*, the Duke

The Duke
of Milan
moves for
Peace.

was reduced to such Terms, that he was very doubtful of his own Estates, and feared his Ruine would be compleated before *Nicholas Piccinino* (whom he had recalled) could come to succour him: wherefore to put a stop to the Earls fury, and with policy to temporize where he could not with Force oppose, he had recourse to those remedies which in the like condition had oft availed him, and to that end sends *Nicholas d'Este*, Prince of *Ferrara*, to *Peschiera* where the Earl then was, who on his behalf perswades him to Peace, demonstrating, That that War could be no waies advantageous to the Earl; for if the Duke were so weakened that he could no longer maintain his Reputation, the Earl would be the first would suffer, for the *Venetians* and *Florentines* having no further use, would have no farther esteem of him: and for a full assurance that the Duke indeed desired Peace, he offered a conclusion of the Marriage, promising to send his Daughter to *Ferrara*, where, as soon as the Peace was concluded, he would joyn their hands. The Earl made answer, That if the Duke did faithfully desire Peace he might easily find it, as that which both the *Venetians* and *Florentines* wish'd for; true it was he could hardly believe it, knowing well that he never desired Peace but out of a pure Necessity, and as soon as that was past his inclinations to War revived; nor could he give any Credit about the promise of the Marriage, having

having been so often mockt with it; but when the Peace was Concluded, he would act in that Affair according to the Advice of his Friends. The *Venetians* (who ordinarily are suspicious of their Souldiers without cause) with reason entertained a suspicion of these practices, which the Earl endeavouring to cancel, carried on the War with great briskness; yet his Courage through Ambition, and the *Venetians* through Jealousie was grown so luke-warm, that little or nothing was done that Summer: So that *Nicholas Piccinino* being returned into *Lombardy*, and cold Weather coming on, all the Armies were drawn into their Winter quarters; the Earl into *Verona*, the Duke into *Cremona*, the *Florentine* Forces into *Toscany*, and the *Popes* into *Romagnia*; which last, after the Victory at *Anghiari*, attempted *Furli* and *Bologna* to recover them out of the hands of *Francis Piccinino*, who was Governour there for his Father, in which though they succeeded not, for *Francis* bravely defended them; yet did their coming so terrifie those of *Ravenna*, that fearful they should be again reduced under the Empire of the Church, by Agreement with *Ostasio* of *Polenta* their Lord, they submitted themselves unto the power of the *Venetians*, who in requital of so fair a Present, that *Ostasio* might not by force retake that, which for want of Wit he had given them, they sent him together with his Son to die in *Candia*. The

The *Vene-*
tians jea-
lous of
Earl *Esse*.
24.

Ingrati-
tude in the
Venetians.

The Pope in these Enterprizes, notwithstanding the Victory at *Anghiari*, wanting Mony, sold the Castle of *Borgo St. Sepolchra* to the *Florentines* for 25000 Ducats: Affairs standing thus, and every one, by reason of the Season of the year, thinking themselves secure from War, Peace was no more talkt of, especially by the Duke, who, heartned by the Winter, and *Piccinino's* return, broke off all manner of Treaty with the Earl, using all possible diligence to recruit *Piccinino*, and making all other provisions for a future War, which the Earl having intelligence of, went to *Venice* to Advise with that Senate how to manage the War for the year ensuing. *Nicholas* on the other side finding himself in order, and the Enemy disordered, staid not for the coming of the Spring, but in the coldest of Winter passes the *Adda*, and entring into the Territories of *Brescia*, becomes presently Master of all that Country, except *Adula* and *Arco*, where he likewise surprizes and carries away 2000 of *Sforza's* Horses who expected not the Alarm; but what more displeased the Earl, and frightened the *Venetians* was, that *Carpello*, one of the Earls principal Officers, revolted from him; the Earl upon this Advice departs suddenly from *Venice*, and being arrived at *Brescia*, found that *Nicholas Piccinino* after he had done this damage was returned to his Quarters; whereupon the Earl seeing the War extinct, thought it not

conve-

convenient to rekindle it, but chose rather, since both the Season and the Enemy gave him a convenience of recruiting, to make use of it, that he might the better in the Spring be able to revenge these Affronts; he therefore made the *Venetians* recal those Forces that served under the *Florentines* in *Toscany*, and in the room of *Gattamelata* who was dead, desired *Micheletto Attendulo* might command them. The Spring now coming on *Nicholas Piccinino* first took the field, and beleagured *Cignone*, a Castle twelve Miles from *Brescia*, to the relief of which comes the Earl, and both on one side and th'other the War was by these two Generals managed according to their wonted Custome; and the Earl being doubtful of *Bergamo*, went and laid Siege to *Martinengo*, a Castle so seated, that (taking it) he might at any time with ease relieve *Bergamo*, which City was sorely oppress'd by *Nicholas*, who having made such provision that he could not any way, but that of *Martinengo*, be disturbed by the Enemy; he had so strongly fortified that Castle, that it was necessary for the Earl to come with all his Forces to attack it; whereupon *Nicholas*, with his whole Army, gained such a Post that he stopt all Provisions from the Earl, and with Trenches and Bulwarks so fortified himself, that the Earl, without apparent danger, could not assault him, reducing him to such streights that the Besieger was in greater danger than those Besieged

sieged in *Martinengo*; for Famine would not suffer the Earl to continue his Siege, nor could he without apparent loss raise it; so there seemed to be a perfect Victory prepared for the Duke, and certain ruine for the *Venetians* and the Earl: but Fortune, who never wants waies to assist her friends and discountenance her enemies, raised in the breast of *Nicholas Piccinino* (swell'd with the hopes of this Victory) such Ambition and Insolence, that without any respect either to the Duke or himself, he sent to tell him, How that having a long time made War under his Ensigns, and never gained so much Earth for himself as would serve to bury him, he would now know what Reward he should have for all his Labours, since it was now in his power to make him Lord of *Lombardy*, and put all his Enemies into his hands: and conceiving that a certain Victory ought to have a certain Reward, he desired him to grant him the City of *Piacenza*, that so tired with tedious War, he might at length repose himself. Nor was he ashamed, in the Conclusion, to threaten the Duke to give over the Enterprize if he granted not his Request. This haughty and insolent way of asking offended the Duke, and incensed him in that manner, that he resolved rather to lose all than give his consent; and him that so many dangers and so many threats of his Enemies could not bend, the insolence and pride of his Friends now made bow: wherefore he resolved upon an Agree-

The Ambitions desires of *Nicholas Piccinino*.

Agreement with the Earl, to whom he sent *Anthony Guido Buono* of *Tortona* to make offers of his Daughter, with Conditions of Peace, which were greedily accepted by the Earl and all the Colleagues; and having privately sealed Covenants, the Duke sent to command *Nicholas* to make Truce with the Earl for a year, alleadging, he was so tired with the vast Charge, that he would not refuse a certain Peace for an uncertain Victory. *Nicholas* was strangely surprized at this Order, not being able to imagine what should make the Duke decline so assured a Victory; for he could not believe that the not rewarding his Friends could make him wave the destroying his Enemies: wherefore, by all means he could best devise, he strove to oppose this Determination; insomuch that the Duke, to bring him to conformity, was forced to threaten, That if he would not consent, he would give him up as a prey to his own Souldiers, or to the Enemy. *Nicholas* hereupon obeys, but with the same regret of mind, as he that is forced to abandon his Friends and Country, lamenting his perverse Fate, whilst formerly ill Fortune, and now the Duke, rob'd him of Victory over his Enemies. The Truce made, the Marriage between the Lady *Biancha* and the Earl was celebrated, and the City of *Cremona* assigned for her Dower; and after that, in November 1441, the Peace was fully ratified, *Francis Barbado* and *Paul Trono* being Commissioners for

Peace concluded privately between the Duke and Earl.

Earl Francis married the Lady *Biancha*.

for the *Venetians*, and Messer *Agnolo Acciaiuolo* for the *Florentines*; by this Peace the *Venetians* came off gainers of *Peschiera*, *Asola*, and *Legnato*, Castles in the Marquisate of *Mantova*. Peace thus settled in *Lombardy*, War still reigned in the Kingdom, which not being to be pacified, proved the occasion of renewing it again in *Lombardy*. King *Renate* was, during the Troubles in *Lombardy*, despoiled of all his Realm, except the City of *Naples*, so that *Alphonso* thinking he had the Victory in his own hands, determined, whilst he lay at the Siege of *Naples*, to take from Earl *Francis Benevento*, and other his Estates lying in the Country adjacent; for he thought he without much hazard might succeed in it, the Earl being employed in the Wars of *Lombardy*; and his success was indeed conformable to his wishes, for with ease he possessed himself of all those Lands. But Peace being concluded in *Lombardy*, *Alphonso* was fearful least the Earl, because of his lost Towns, would joyn with *Renate*, and *Renate*, for the same Considerations, had hopes he would do so: whereupon he sent to the Earl, encouraging him to come and assist a Friend, and revenge himself of an Enemy: On the other side, the King requested *Philip*, that in respect of the ancient Friendship between them, he would give the Earl such a diversion, that forced to attend on weightier matters he should be constrained to wave this. *Philip* complied with this Request,

Request, not considering that thereby he disturbed that Peace, which so much to his own disadvantage he had lately concluded: for he sent to Pope *Eugenius* to inform him, that now was his time to regain those Lands the Earl had usurped from the Church, and to effect it he offered him *Nicholas Piccinino* (he paying him while the War lasted) who, since the Conclusion of the Peace, had taken up his Quarters in *Romania*. The Pope greedily entertained the motion, as well out of Hate to the Earl, as desire to regain his own; and though formerly he had with the same hopes been deceived by *Nicholas*, yet, now the Dukes intervention made him no more mistrustful, but he presently joyned his Forces with *Nicholas* and assaulted *La Marca*. The Earl startled at so sudden an Onset, with all speed draws together his Forces, and marches towards his Enemies. In the mean time King *Alphonso* takes *Naples*, so that all that Kingdom, except *Castel Nuovo*, was now in his power. Wherefore *Renate* leaving a strong Garrison in that Castle, comes to *Florence*, where he was honourably received; whence, a few daies after, seeing he could no longer maintain the War, he departs, and goes for *Marsilia*. Mean while *Alphonso* had taken *Castel Nuovo*, and the Earl in *La Marca* proved somewhat inferiour to the Pope and *Nicholas*; whereupon he had recourse to the *Venetians* and *Florentines* for assistance of Men and Mony, affirming, That if they did not now
 bridle.

War in La
Marca.

bridle the Pope and Kings power while he was yet in being, they would afterwards in vain struggle for their own safety; for they would joyn with *Philip*, and amongst them divide all *Italy*. The *Florentines* and *Venetians* stood a while in suspence, somewhat doubtful to engage against the King and the Pope, and being at present employed in the Affairs of *Bolonia*; for *Annibal Bentivogli* had driven from that City *Francis Piccinino*, and to enable him to defend himself against the Duke who favoured *Francis*, had craved Aid of the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, who had not denied him; so that having engaged themselves in this Affair, they could not at present resolve to assist the Earl: but *Annibal* having defeated *Francis Piccinino*, and matters there seeming settled, the *Florentines* resolved to assist the Earl, but first to be assured of the Duke, they renewed their League with him, which the Duke refused not; for he had only consented, that War should be made against the Earl while *Renate* was in Arms, but seeing him vanquished, and utterly driven from the Kingdom, he was not at all pleased that the Duke should be spoiled of his Estates. Wherefore he not only was willing that the Earl should have assistance, but wrote to King *Alphonso* that he would be content to return back into his Kingdom, and desist from making farther War; which, though *Alphonso* was somewhat unwilling to do, yet being obliged to the

the Duke, he thought best to comply with him, and retired with his Forces on the farther side of *Tranta*. Whilst Affairs went thus in *Romania*, the *Florentines* were not quiet among themselves. There was in *Florence*, among the Citizens of chief Reputation in the Government, *Neri di Gino Capponi*, of whose Greatness *Cosmo*, more than of any others, stood in fear; for to the Credit he had with the Citizens, he had joyned the favour of the Souldiers; for having been often General of the *Florentine* Army, his Valour and great Merit had gained their love; and besides, the remembrance of the Victories, which they acknowledged from him and his Father (the one having reduced *Pisa* under the *Florentine* power, and the other defeated *Nicholas Piccinino* at *Anghiari*) made him respected by many, and feared by others who desired no Partners in the Government. Among many other Prime Leaders of the *Florentine* Army was *Baldaccio* of *Anghiari*, a Man famous in War; and who in those Times, either for Knowledge, Strength, or Courage, had not his Superiour in *Italy*; and so much Reputation had he gained among the Infantry (for those he ever Commanded) that they were at any time ready, in whatever Enterprize he pleased to undertake, to follow him. This *Baldaccio* was a most intire Friend of *Neri's*; for he loved him for his Vertue; of which he had been often witness, which made the

Baldaccio
of *Anghiari*.

Other Citizens grow jealous of him, and judging the disbanding of him would be hazardous, and the retaining him yet more dangerous, they resolved to rid him out of the way, in which design Fortune proved favourable to them. *Bartholomew Orlandino* was *Gonfaloniere* of Justice: He, as we have before related, having the Charge of the Guard of *Maradi*, basely fled and deserted a Pass with Nature it self in a manner defended. This Cowardize so displeased *Baldaccio* that he could not forbear, both by Words and Letters to brand him for it; at the shame of which *Messer Bartholomew* conceived such a secret regret and spleen, that led on by an infamous desire of Revenge, he thought nothing but the blood of his Accuser could cancel his fault or cover his blushes. Many other Citizens were sensible of *Bartholomew's* Malice, whereupon they inflamed him, and perswaded the facility of getting eas'd of such a Reproach, thereby at once revenging his private Injury, and freeing the State of a Man whom they must either retain with fear or disinish with damage. Whereupon *Bartholomew* having taken his resolve to assassinate *Baldaccio*, concealed many armed young Men in his Chamber, and *Baldaccio* being come upon the *Piazza*, where he usually every day walked, or came to treat with the Magistrates about his entertainment: the *Gonfaloniere* sent for him, and he not having the least suspicion, obeyed, whom the *Gonfaloniere*

met

met; and walking with him several turns about the Senate Chambers, talking and discoursing with him concerning his Pay, at length, when he saw his opportunity, being come near the room where the Armed men lay hid, he gave the signal, and they immediately sallying forth and finding him alone and disarmed, soon slew him, and threw him out of the Window which looks from the Palace, to the Custome-House, and thence carrying him into the *Piazza*, cutting off his Head, left him for all that day as a spectacle to the People. He left behind him only one Son (born of *Annalena* his Wife) who not long surviv'd him: that virtuous Lady, having lost her Husband and Son, would not again Contract her self to any, but turning her House into a Monastery (with many Noble and virtuous Ladies who consoled themselves with her) in a holy manner lived and died: Whose memory, for the Monastery by her founded and from her named, doth hitherto live and will live for ever. This Action somewhat check'd *Neri's* power, and lessened him both in Reputation and Friends: Nor did the prime Ministers of State think this enough, for Ten years being now spent since the foundation of their Government; and the Authority of the *Balia* expired, and many presuming both in words and deeds to exceed the limits thought requisite; The Chiefs of the State judged it fit for maintaining their Authority to revive the *Balia*,

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whereby

Baldaccio
assassina-
ted by the
Gonfaloniere
etc.

1444,
Florence
reformed.

whereby they might afresh give Authority to their Friends, and weaken their Enemies; and therefore in the year 1444 they, by the consent of the Councils, created a New *Balia*; which fetled the Offices, gave Authority to a few to create the Senate, reviving the Chancellorship of the Reformation, displacing *Philip Peruzzi*, and in his room constituting one that would act according to the pleasure of the Great Men; who prolonged the Confinements of many, imprisoned *Simon Vespucci*; removed from their Honours and Offices the *Accoppiatori*, as Enemies to the State, and with them the Sons of *Peter Baroncelli*, all the *Seragli*, *Bartholomew Fortini*, Messer *Francisco Castellani*, and many others; and by this means regained their own Power and Authority, and abated the Pride both of their known and suspected Enemies. And having thus fetled the State within, they applied themselves to Affairs abroad. *Nicholas Piccinino* being, as we have before declared, deserted by the King *Alphonso*, and the Earl with the releif sent him by the *Florentines* grown strong, he engages with *Nicholas* near *Fermo*, and gave him so total a Rout, that *Nicholas* with the loss of most of his Men hardly saved himself in *Montecchio*; where he fortified and so bravely defended himself, that in a short time he had rallied all his People, and was grown able, with ease to defend himself from the Earl; especially Winter coming on, which constrained

Nicholas
Piccinino
discomfited.

strained both those Captains to draw into their Quarters. *Nicholas* applied himself all Winter to reinforce his Army, in which both the Pope and King *Alphonso* assisted him; so that early in the Spring both Generals took the Field, and *Nicholas*, being the stronger, had reduced the Earl to extrem necessity, and had certainly overthrown him, had not the Duke interrupted *Nicholas's* Designs. *Philip* sent to desire his immediate presence, for he had something of importance to confer with him; which *Nicholas* covetous to hear, abandoned a certain Victory for an incertain Pleasure; and leaving the Command of the Army to his Son *Francis*, posts to *Milan*. This the Earl having intelligence of, would not lose the opportunity of fighting in *Nicholas's* absence, and engaging near *Monte Loro*, routed *Nicholas's* Forces, and took *Francis* prisoner. *Nicholas* arrived at *Milan*, finding himself abused by *Philip*, and receiving Intelligence of his Sons being defeated and taken, died with Grief in the Year 1445, and the 64 of his Age; leaving behind him two Sons *Francis* and *Jacob*, who had less Valour, and worse Fortune than their Father; so that these *Braccian* Forces were almost quite worn out, and the *Sforzan* Arms still (seconded by Fortune) became more and more glorious. The Pope seeing *Nicholas's* Forces defeated, and himself dead, having no sure reliance on the Aid of *Arragon*, sought Peace with the Earl, and by the *Florentines*

Death of
Nicholas
Piccinino.

Troubles
in *Bolonia*.

intermission concluded it; by which *Osimo*, *Fabriano* or *Riconati* Towns of *La Marca*, became the Popes, and all the rest of that Territory remained subject to the Earl. Peace thus concluded in *La Marca*, all *Italy* had been at quiet had not the *Bolonesi* disturbed its repose. There was in *Bolonia* two mighty Families, the *Canneschi* and *Bentivogli*; of the last *Hannibal* was the Head, and of the first *Battista*. They had, to beget a greater confidence in each other, made several intermarriages; but in Men aspiring to the same Greatness, though Alliances may be easily contracted, yet Friendship is not. *Bolonia* was in League with the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, which they had entred into by the Mediation of *Hannibal Bentivogli*, after his driving *Francis Piccinino* out of that City. *Battista* knowing how much the Duke desired the favour of this City, plotted with him to kill *Hannibal*, and reduce the City under his obedience. And having concluded on the manner, *Battista*, with his Followers, on the 24 of *June* 1445, assaults *Hannibal* and kills him, and thereupon Proclaims the Duke throughout the Town. The *Venetian* and *Florentine* Commissaries were in the City, who upon the first Rumour retired to their Houses, but seeing afterwards how the People Arming themselves, flocked in great numbers to the Market place, to oppose the Murtherers, and revenge the death of *Hannibal*, they took heart, and with those

those Men they had about them, joyned with the People, and making Head, Charged the *Canneschi*, whom in a very short time they overthrew, killing some, and driving the rest out of the City. *Battista* not having an opportunity to flee, nor his Enemies to kill him, hid himself in his House under a Vessel made to keep Corn in; and his Enemies having made search for him all that day, knowing that he was not gone out of the City, so terrified his Servants, that a Boy of his for fear shewed them where he was, whom, pulling out thence still in his Armour, they immediately slew, and then having drag'd his Body through the Streets, burnt it. Thus the Dukes Victory proved sufficient to make *Battista* attempt this Enterprize, but his Succours came not time enough to maintain it, or save his life. Though the death of *Battista*, and flight of the *Canneschi* had quieted these Tumults, yet the *Bolonians* remained in great Confusion, there being none of the Family of *Bentivogli* fit to Govern, *Hannibal* having left but one Son, called *John*, not above six years of Age; so that they grew fearful lest some Division happening among the Friends of the *Bentivogli*, might give opportunity to the *Canneschi* to return, to the ruine of the City and their Party. But whilst they lay under those Fears and Jealousies, *Francis*, formerly Earl of *Poppi*, being then in *Bolonia*, gave Advertisement to the Prime men of the

Battista
Canneschi
slain.

City that if they were desirous to be Governed by one of the Blood of the *Bentivogli*, he could inform them where to find one; and therewithal acquainted them. How *Hercules* the Cousin of *Hannibal* happening, about twenty years since, to be at *Poppi*, had there Carnal knowledge of a young Woman of that Castle, who was afterwards delivered of a Son called *Santi*, which *Hercules* often affirmed to be his, nor could he indeed well deny it, for whoever look'd on *Hercules* and the Child, would find a very great likeness or resemblance. The Citizens gave Credit to his Report, and delayed not the sending Ambassadors to *Florence* to find out the young Man, and to prevail with *Cosmo* and *Neri* that he might be sent to them. The reputed Father of *Santi* was dead, and the Youth lived under the Care and Tuition of an Uncle of his, called *Anthony Cascese*, *Anthony* was Rich, Childless, and a Friend of *Neri's*; wherefore as soon as the matter was divulged, *Neri* was of Opinion that it was neither to be slighted, nor rashly accepted, and thought good to speak with *Santi* himself, in the presence of *Cosmo* and those sent from *Bolonia*; and being all met, *Santi* was by the *Bolonesi* not only honoured, but almost adored: so much can the love of Parties or Factions prevail o're the minds of Men. For the present nothing was concluded, save that *Cosmo* taking the Young man aside, told him, *None can in this case*

Santi Bentivoglio
sent forth
Govern
Bolonia,

case advise thee better than thy self, for thou art to make that Choice which thou findest thy own Soul inclinable to; and if thou be the Son of *Hercules Bentivoglio*, thou wilt dispose thy self to Actions worthy that House and Family; but if thou be the Son of *Agnolo Cascese*, thou wilt content thy self to stay in *Florence*, and follow his mean Trade of Dressing Wool. These words moved the Young man, and whereas before he had in a manner denyed to accept the proposal, he now referred himself wholly to what *Cosmo* and *Neri* should determine: so that they agreeing with the Messengers of *Bolonia*, furnished him with Cloaths, Horses, and Servants, and soon after with an honourable Company he was attended to *Bolonia*; where the Charge and Government of *Hannibal's* Children, and of the City, was committed to him: wherein he behaved himself with so much prudence, that whereas his Predecessours had all been slain by their Enemies, he both lived in Peace, and died in Honour. *Philip*, after the death of *Nicholas Piccinino*, and the Peace in *La Marca*, being desirous of a General to Command his Armies, held private Correspondence with *Ciarpellone*, one of the Earls principal Captains, and came to an Agreement with him: whereupon *Ciarpellone* asked the Earls leave to go to *Milan* to take possession of certain Castles, which had by the Duke in the past War been given him. But the Earl having some suspicion of the

New War
in La
Marca.

the Contrivance (that he might not serve the Duke to his prejudice) first stop'd him, and soon after put him to death, giving out He had dealt falsly and fraudulently with him. At this the Duke was exceeding Angry, but the *Florentines* and *Venetians* very well pleased, fearing nothing more than a friendship and Conjunction between the Dukes and Earls Forces. But the Dukes resentment stirred up the War afresh in *La Marca*. *Gismond Malatesti*, Lord of *Rimini*, being Son in Law to the Earl, hoped to have *Pesaro* assigned over to him, but the Earl having got possession of it, gave it to *Alexander* his Brother; at which *Gismond* was enraged, and to encrease his fury it happened, that *Frederick* of *Montefeltro* his profest Enemy, had by the Earls favour and Connivance, seized on the Lordship of *Urbino*. These Affronts made *Gismond* joyn with the Duke, and sollicite the Pope and King to make a War upon the Earl; who, to make *Gismond* taste the first fruits of the seed he had sown, by way of prevention falls first upon his Territories: so that *Romania* and *La Marca* were filled with War and Tumult; for the King, Pope, and Duke sent large Aids to *Gismond* and the *Venetians*; and the *Florentines*, if not with Men, yet with Money abundantly supplied the Earl. *Philip*, mean while, thought not the War in *Romania* enough to afflict the Earl, but designed to take, from him *Cremona*, and *Pontremoli*; but the first was by the

Vene

Venetians, and the last by the *Florentines* defended. So the War was again revived in *Lombardy*, in which, after some Skirmishes happening in the Country of *Cremona*, *Francis Piccinino*, General for the Duke, was at *Casal*, by *Micheletto* and the *Venetian* Forces, defeated. Which Victory put the *Venetians* in hopes of becoming Lords of the Dukes Estates, and encouraged them to send one of their Commissioners to invade *Ghirardella*, who took the whole Country, except *Cremona*, and thence passing the *Adda*, made his incursions as far as *Milan*: whereupon the Duke had recourse to *Alphonso*, craving his assistance, and setting forth the danger his Kingdom would be exposed to if the *Venetians* were Lords of *Lombardy*. *Alphonso* promised to send him Aid, which could hardly, without the Earls consent, have passage. Whereupon *Philip* was forced to supplicate the Earl, that he would not utterly desert his Father in Law now grown blind and Aged. The Earl thought himself injured by the Duke, for having been the mover of this War; but on the other side he affected not the Greatness of the *Venetians*, and began himself to want Money, which the League supplied but sparingly: for the *Florentines* were now freed from their Fears of the Duke, which had begot their esteem of the Earl; and the *Venetians* sought his destruction, believing the Dominion of *Lombardy* could not be snatcht from them by any one

War re-
vived in
Lombardy.

The Vene-
tians and
Duke go on
to the
Earls
friendship.
but

but him: And yet, whilst *Philip* solicited him to accept of his Pay, and offered him the supream Command of all his Forces (on Condition he would desert the *Venetians*, and restore *La Marca* to the Pope) they sent likewise their Ambassadors, promising him *Milan* if they took it, and to be perpetual General of their Armies, provided he prosecuted the War in *La Marca*, and prevented *Alphonso's* Forces from coming to relieve *Lombardy*. The *Venetians* Promises were great, and their Merits greater, having first begun this War to secure *Cremona* for the Earl; and on the other side, the Dukes Injuries were fresh, and his Promises faithless and not be relied on. However the Earl was doubtful what Choice to make: On the one side, his obligation to the League, his word past, with the late deservings and promises of future Advantages, were strong motives; and on the other side, the prayers of his Father in Law; but principally the poyson he feared lay hid under the *Venetians* extravagant Promises withheld him: for he judged, that both in relation to their Promises, and his own Estates, he should, whenever they were Victors, lye at their discretion; which no prudent Prince ought to expose himself to, unless in pure necessity. These difficulties of coming to a Resolve were by the Ambition of the *Venetians* removed; who, put in hopes to surprize *Cremona*, by some intelligence they had in that City, under other pretences

pretences made their Army approach it; but the Plot was discovered by the Earls Garrison, and their design frustrated: so, though they got not *Cremona*, they lost the Earl, who, laying aside all respects, joyned now with the Duke. Pope *Eugenius* was now dead, and *Nicholas* the Fifth succeeded in the Papacy. The Earl lay with all his Army at *Cotignuola*, ready to march into *Lombardy*, when Intelligence was brought him that *Philip* was dead, which happened on the last of *August* 1457. This news extremely perplexed the Earl; he suspected his own People were discontented, not having had their full pay; he was fearful of the *Venetians*; now in Arms against him, and whom he had so lately made Enemies, by deserting them and joyning with the Duke, he was doubtful of *Alphonso* his perpetual Enemy, and had no great hopes in the Pope or *Florentines* in these, because they were in League with the *Venetians*; and in the other, because he was possessor of the Church-Lands; yet he resolved to out-face fortune, and govern himself and his Affairs according as things fell out; for many times by Action those counsels are discovered, which Idleness conceals. Some hopes he had in believing, that if the *Milanesi* would defend themselves from the Ambition of the *Venetians*, they could fly to no shelter but his: wherewith taking heart he marches into the Territories of *Bolonia*, from thence passing *Modena* and *Reggio*, and sitting down on the *Lenza*, sends to

Duke Th.
his death

to *Milan* to offer his Service. The *Milanesi* after the Duke's death, would, some live free, and others under a Prince; those who desired a Prince were partly for the Earl, and partly for King *Alphonso*; wherefore those who made choice of liberty, being more united, prevailed against the other, and established such a Common-wealth as pleased them, but to which many Cities of the Dutchy refused obedience; thinking they might enjoy their liberty as well as *Milan*, or not being able to aspire to that, yet they would not be Lorded over by the *Milanesi*: wherefore *Lodi* and *Piacenza* submitted to the *Venetians*, *Pavia* and *Parma* would live free. The Duke hearing of these confusions, went to *Cremona*; whither came his Ambassadors with others from the *Milanesi*, bringing this Conclusion, that he should be General of *Milan* upon the same terms lately made with Duke *Philip*; with this addition, that *Brescia* should be the Earls, till he could take *Verona*; which done, that to be his and *Brescia* to be restored. Before the Duke's death, Pope *Nicholas* at his Exaltation to the Papacy had endeavoured to make Peace among all *Italian* Princes; whereupon he prevailed with those Ambassadors sent him by the *Florentines* at his creation, to request that a Diet might be held at *Ferrara*, in order to the treating either a long truce or a firm Peace: To which end there assembled in that City the Popes Legat, the Dukes, the *Florentine* and *Venetian* Ambassadors, but those of King

Earl Francis
General
of the
Milanesi.

King *Alfonso* came not. He was then at *Tivoli* with a great power of Horse and Foot, and from thence countenanced the Duke, designing as it is thought, having gained the Earl to their side, openly to assault the *Florentines* and *Venetians*; and whilst he delayed time, the Earl with his forces to stay in *Lombardy*, and the treaty of Peace proceed; to which the King sent not, affirming he would ratifie whatever the Duke assented to. The Peace was many daies debated, and after many disputes concluded, either to be perpetual, or a truce for 5 years, which of the two best pleased the Duke, but the Dukes Ambassadors being sent to *Milan*, to understand his pleasure, found him dead: the *Milanesi* notwithstanding his death, would have stood to the Agreement: but the *Venetians* would not, having now greater hopes than ever, to become Lords of that State, especially seeing so soon after his Death, *Lodi* and *Piacenza* submit to them; assuring themselves they should in a short time, either by force or consent, despoil *Milan* of all its Estates, and afterwards so oppress the City it self, that it should be constrained to surrender before any releif could come: And they more firmly perswaded themselves to this, seeing the *Florentines* intangled in a War with King *Alphonso*. That King was now at *Tivoli*, and designing to pursue his expedition against *Toscany*, as he had concluded with Duke *Philip* (imagining the War raised in *Lombardy* gave him time and opportunity)

He

Alphonse
invades
the Floren-
tine.

He was desirous to get footing in the *Florentine* Estate, before he declared open War; and to that end plotted the surprisal of the Castle of *Cennina*, in the upper vale of *Arno*, which by conspiracy with some within he won. The *Florentines* startled at this unexpected accident, seeing the King resolved to prosecute them, hired Souldiers, created the Council of ten, and according to their Custom prepared for War. The King was already marched into the Territories of *Siena*, and used all his endeavours to gain the favour of that City; but the *Sanesi* continuing firm in their friendship to the *Florentines*, would not admit him into *Siena*, nor any other of their Towns: true it is, they furnished him with some Provisions, but for that, their weakness and his power pleaded their excuse. The King thought it not convenient to make his inroads by the Vale of *Arno*, as he had at first designed, both because *Cennina* was again recovered, also because the *Florentines* were already pretty well furnished with Men; wherefore he advances towards *Volterra*, and took several Castles in the *Volterrane*; thence turning into the Territory of *Pisa*, by the Countenance of *Anigo* and *Fatio*, Counts of *Ghirardesca*, he takes some Castles, and assaults *Campelia*, but finding it defended both by the *Florentines*, and the hard Winter, fails in the Attempt: wherefore, leaving Garrisons in the Towns he had taken, both to defend them, and make incursions into the Country with the rest

rest of his Army, he returns to his Quarters in the Country of *Siena*. The *Florentines*, having this advantage of the Season, with all diligence provided Men, and chose *Fredrick* Lord of *Urban*, and *Gismond Malatesti*, for their Commanders; between whom though some difference happened, yet by the prudence of *Neri di Gino*, and *Bernadetto Medici*, it was in such measure accommodated, that notwithstanding the Cold was still very fierce, they drew forth the Army, and regained all the Towns lost in the Country of *Pisa* and *Pomerancy* in the *Volterrane*, and so streightned the Kings Forces, that made their inroads along the Sea Coast, that they were scarce able to defend their Garrisons. But Spring coming on, the Commissaries advanced with all their Forces, consisting of 5000 Horse, and 2000 Foot, to *Spedaletto*; and the King draws his Army, consisting of 15000, within three Miles of *Campiglia*; and whilst they thought he would besiege that Town, turns off and sits down before *Piombino*, which he hoped easily to carry, because it was very ill provided, and withal believing the Acquisition would prove of great advantage to him, and prejudice to the *Florentines*; because from thence he might consume the *Florentines* with a tedious War, and having his own Provisions by Sea, spoil the whole Country of *Pisa*. This Siege sorely afflicted the *Florentines*; yet advising what was best to be done, they supposed that

if their Army could maintain its station among the Thickets of *Campiglia*; the King would be forced to depart either with loss or disgrace. Wherefore they Armed four Gallies, which they had at Leghorn, and by them sent three hundred Foot into *Piombino*, encamping themselves at *Caldacce*, a Post where they must with difficulty be assailed; for to lye among the *Firzes* in the Plain they conceived it dangerous. The *Florentine* Camp was Victualled from the Towns adjacent, which being but few and thinly Inhabited, made Provision scarce. So that the Army suffered extream Want, but especially of Wine; for none being made there, and no possibility of having it elsewhere, that defect could not be supplied; but the King, though he were streightned by the *Florentines*, had abundance of all sorts of Provision (even from Straw upwards) all which was brought him by Sea. Wherefore the *Florentines* grew desirous to make tryal, if they likewise could relieve their Camp by Sea, and loaded their Gallies with Provision; but in the Voyage they were met by seven of the Kings Gallies, and two of them were taken, and the other two put to flight. This defeat made the *Florentine* Army lose all hopes of refreshment; whereupon two hundred *Ploiers*, or more, for want (of Wine especially) fled into the Kings Camp, and the rest murmured, declaring, They could not, nor would not stay in those hot places where they

they had neither Wine nor wholeſom Water. Whereupon the Commissaries resolved to remove, and addressed themselves to the recovery of several Castles which were yet in the Kings hands: who on the other side, though he stood in no want of Provision, and was superiour in Number, yet began to waste; for his Camp was infected with divers Diseases, occasioned by Vapours arising from the Sea, of which many died, and most were infirm. Whereupon a Treaty was set on Foot, whereby the King demanded 50000 Florins, and *Piombino* to be left at his discretion; which being debated at *Florence*, many that were desirous of Peace accepted, affirming, They knew not how any could hope they should overcome in a War that required such vast Expence to maintain it. But *Neri Capponi* going to *Florence*, with such Reasons dehorted them, that the whole City agreed not to accept those Conditions, but received the Lord of *Piombino* into their Pay and protection, promising in War and Peace to maintain and defend him, provided he would not be wanting to himself, but as hitherto he had done defend his City. The King having advice of this Resolution, and perceiving that by reason of the Sicknes in his Camp, he could not gain the Town, raised his Siege as if he had been defeated, and leaving 2000 dead upon the place, with the rest of his infirm Army retreated into the Country of *Siena*, and thence to the Kingdom,

Overtures
of Peace
between
Alphonſo
and the
Florentines.

The King
raises his
Siege with
disho-
nour.

desperately angry at the *Florentines*, and threatening the next Spring a new Invasion. During this turmoil of Affairs in *Toscany*, Earl Francis being made General for the *Milanese* in *Lombardy*, first of all engages Francis Piccinino's friendship, that either he might favour his Designs, or at least be more wary of obstructing them; and then drawing his Army into the Field, those of *Pavia* supposing themselves unable to resist his Forces, and resolving not to submit to the *Milanese*, offered him their Town, upon Condition he should not deliver them up to *Milan*. The Earl was very desirous to have the possession of that City, believing it would be a brave beginning, and an excellent Colour for other designs. Nor did shame, or breach of Faith, restrain him; for Great men think loss a shame, and not Conquest, though by Deceit. Yet he was fearful by taking it he should so anger the *Milanese*, that they would give up their right to the *Venetians*; and if he took it not, he was fearful of the Duke of *Savoy*, to whom many Citizens proposed a surrendry. One way or the other he saw himself deprived of the Empire of *Lombardy*: yet presuming there would be less danger in the taking it, than leaving it to another, he resolved to accept it, perswading himself he might pacifie the *Milanese*; to whom he sent word, how many Dangers he had incurred by not accepting *Pavia*, which those Citizens would otherwise have surrendred, either to the *Vene-*

tians

tians or the Duke of *Savoy*, in either of which cases their Dominion there were lost; and that it were much better for them to have him their Neighbour and Friend, than to have a powerful Neighbour (as either of the other were) and an Enemy: withal, the *Milanese* were much troubled at it, imagining they had made a discovery of the Earl's Ambition, and the ends he drove at; but they thought it best not to discover their thoughts, not knowing whither (if they once cast off the Earl) to turn themselves, unless to the *Venetians*, whose pride and heavy Conditions they detested: wherefore they resolved not to fall at variance with the Earl, but to make use of him to oppose the present Storms, hoping they once blown over, to free themselves likewise from him: for at this time they were not only assailed by the *Venetians*, but by the *Genovesè* and Duke of *Savoy*, in the Name and Right of Charles of Orleans, Son to a Sister of *Philip*; but that War was with ease by the Earl suppressed; and then they had no Enemies left but the *Venetians*, who with a mighty Army sought to make themselves Masters of that State; and were possessed of *Lodi* and *Piacenza*; which last the Earl laid Siege to, and with great labour took, and sackt. After which (for Winter was drawing on) he brought his Army into Quarters, and went himself to *Cremona*, where all that Season he reposed himself with his Wife. But Spring approaching

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the *Venetian* and *Milanese* Armies took the Field; the *Milanese* only desired to regain *Lodi*, and then make Peace with the *Venetians*; for both the Charges of the War increasing upon them, and withal their Jealousies of their General, whose fidelity they mistrusted, they grew infinitely desirous of Peace, that they might enjoy some repose, and secure themselves against the Earl. They therefore resolved their Army should make an attempt upon *Caravaggio*, hoping whenever that Castle were regained from the Enemy, *Lodi* would surrender. The Earl obeyed the *Milanese*; though he had more mind to pass the *Adda*, and fall into the Country of *Brescia*. Having therefore laid Siege to *Caravaggio*, he fortified himself with Trenches and Bulwarks, that if the *Venetians* attempted to raise the Siege, they should do it with disadvantage. On the other side, the *Venetians* came with their Army under *Micheletto* within two Bow-shot of the Enemy, where they lay several daies, and many Skirmishes happened. However, the Earl made his approaches to the Castle, and reduced it to such a condition that it could not longer hold out; which much afflicted the *Venetians*, believing with the loss of it they should lose *Lodi*. Wherefore calling a Council of War, there were many Debates how to relieve it; but none seemed probable, unless they could force the *Earl's* Works, which must be done with great disadvantage. However, they thought that

that Castle of such concern, that the Senate of *Venice* (naturally fearful, and dreading any thing they behold doubtful and dangerous) chose to run the hazard of all, rather than with the loss of that Castle lose their present Design. They therefore determined, in the best manner they could, to storm the Earls Camp, and getting in Order one Morning very early, fell on in that part they had observed weakest Guarded; so that upon the first Charge (as happens in all unexpected Assaults) *Sforza's* whole Army was in confusion: but the Earl soon repaired that disorder; so that after many Attempts made by the Enemy to force the Trenches, they were not only repulsed, but so totally routed and discomfited, that of Twelve thousand Horse, which were in the Army, not above a thousand saved themselves; all their Ammunition and Carriages became a prey to the Enemies; nor ever before or since, did the *Venetians* receive a greater or more dreadful blow. Among the Prey, and Prisoners was found a *Venetian* Providitor very sad and melancholy, who before the Fight, and in the carrying on the War, had been used to speak very disgracefully of the Earl, calling him *Barbard* and base Fellow: so that finding himself now a Prisoner, and being conscious of his Fault, fearing to be rewarded according to his Deserts, being brought before the Earl quaking and trembling, according to the nature of proud and base-minded men,

The *Venetian* Army defeated by the Earl.

The gene-
rous tem-
per of
Earl Sfor-
za.

who are insolent in Prosperity, and low and vile in Adversity; casting himself on his Knees with tears in his Eyes, humbly craved pardon for the Injuries he had done him; whom the Earl taking by the Hand, and raising him up, bid be of good comfort, and hope the best; and then told him: *That he wondred a Man of that Prudence and Gravity he would be thought, should so oversee himself as to talk so vilely of those that had not deserved it: for as to those matters wherewith he had scandalized him, he knew not what had been done between Sforza his Father, and the Lady Lucia his Mother, because he neither was nor could be present; but as to his own doings, he was sensible he had governed himself so, that no man could justly reprove him; of which both himself and the whole Senate could bear sufficient testimony: and therefore exhorted him for the future, to be more modest in his Expressions, and more cautious in his proceedings.* After this Victory, the Earl with his Triumphant Army marched into the Territory of Brescia; all which he possessed himself of, and then pitcht his Camp within two miles of the City. On the other side, the Venetians having received this defeat, imagining (as it happened) That Brescia would be the next thing stroke at, had taken the best Care, and made the best provision for it they could; and then with all diligence levyed Forces, and rallied the remnants of their broken Army, and by virtue

virtue of the League sent to demand Aid from the *Florentines*, who being released from the War by King *Alphonso*, sent to their assistance 1000 Foot, and 2000 Horse. With this addition of Forces the *Venetians* were in a condition to begin to think of Peace. It hath been a long time fatal to the *Venetian* Republick to lose in War, and afterwards by Treaty to have it restored double; and the *Venetians* now well knew how jealous the *Milanese* were of the Earl, and how the Earl desired not to be Earl but Lord of Milan, so that it was in their power to make Peace with either, the one desiring it out of Ambition, and the other out of Fear. They chose to make it with the Earl, and offer him their Assistance to Conquer the other; perswading themselves, That the *Milanese* seeing themselves deceived by the Earl, would in indignation rather submit themselves to any than to him; and so reducing them into a condition that they could neither defend themselves nor trust the Earl, they would be forced, not knowing which way to turn themselves, to fall into their lap. Having thus deliberated, they sounded the Earls inclination, and found him very ready to embrace Peace, being desirous the Victory gained at *Caravaggio* should be his and not the *Milanese's*: wherefore an Agreement was concluded, by which the *Venetians* were obliged to pay the Earl, till such time as he had conquer'd Milan, 13000 Florins a Month; and moreover, during that War, to assist him with

Peace be-
tween the
Earl and
Venetians.

4000 Horse, and 2000 Foot: and the Earl on the other part obliged himself to restore to the Venetians all the Towns, Prisoners, or whatever else had been taken in that War, and content himself with those Lands Duke Philip at his Death possessed. As soon as this Agreement was known at Milan, it more afflicted that whole City than the Victory at Caravaggio had rejoiced them: the Magistrates vented their Grievs to one another in sad Complaints; the Common People railed, and the Women and Children wept, and all with one voice called him Disloyal and Traitor; and though they could not believe either Prayers or Promises could withdraw him from his ingrateful design, yet they sent Ambassadors to him, to see with what face, and what words he would justify his wickedness; who being come before the Earl, one of them spoke in this manner: *Those who are earnest to obtain any thing from another, do usually with Prayers, Promises, or Threats invade him, so that either moved by Compassion, Advantage or Fear, he may consent to their desires; but in Cruel and Avaritious minds, and withal opinionative of their own Power, all these waies are to no purpose, and in vain, men strive either to humble them with Prayers, to gain them with Rewards, or terrifie them with Threatnings. Wherefore we being made sensible, though too late, of your Cruelty, Ambition and Pride, are not come hither to beg any thing from you, nor have any hopes to obtain it if we should, but to put you*

The
Speech of
the Mila-
nesi Am-
bassadors
to the
Earl.

in mind of the Obligations you owe to the People of Milan, and to declare with how much Ingratitude you have discharged them, that in the midst of so many Miseries we may have at least the satisfaction of Reproaching you. You cannot but well remember what Conditions you made after Duke Philips death: You then were Enemy to the King and Pope, had deserted the Venetians and Florentines, who either out of just and fresh resentments, or because they had no more need of you, were upon the point of Declaring against you. You were your self grown weary of the War with the Church, your Forces few, your Friends none, and your Treasure quite expended, and you in danger of losing your Estates, and your ancient Reputation together; all which had soon befallen you, had it not been for our simplicity; for we only sheltered you, moved out of the Reverence we bore to the happy memory of our Duke, with whom you having contracted a former Alliance and new Friendship, we believed your love might descend from him to us, and that if to his Obligations we joyned ours, that Bond would not only be firm, but inseperable; and therefore to the former Articles were added either Brescia or Verona; what could we give or promise you more? or what could you, I do not say of us, but in those times of any one, either have or indeed desire? You received then from us unhopd for kindness, and we have now in return from you unexpected Malice. Nor have you ceased from that very hour, to declare the perversness of your intentions; for no sooner were you General of our Forces, but contrary to all Justice you re-
ceived

ceived Pavia, which might have warned us what the end of your Friendship would prove; yet we pass by that injury, supposing the largeness of that Conquest might have satisfied your Ambition; But alas! Those who desire all will never be satisfied with part. You then promised we should enjoy what you afterwards gained; because you imagined what was given by parcels, might be snatch'd again at once, as hath happened since the Victory at Caravaggio, which being gained with our Blood and Money, hath since been pursued to our destruction. Oh unhappy those Cities who are exposed to defend their Liberty against all Oppressors; but more unhappy those who are necessitated to trust the defence of it to Mercenary and disloyal Arms, like yours: Let posterity therefore be warned by our Example; though we have not taken warning from that of Thebes and Philip of Macedon, who after having conquered their Adversary, first became their Enemy, and then their Prince. However, we can be accused of no other fault, but putting too much confidence in him whom we should not at all have trusted; for your past life, the ambition of your mind content with no Estate or degree should have deterred us. What hopes could we have in him who had betrayed a Lord of Lucca, fleeced the Florentines and Venetians, slighted the Duke, abused the King and what's above all, with such violences and injuries persecuted God and his Church? Why should we think all these States and Princes had less power over Francis Sforza than the Milanesi, or that he who had so often violated his Faith with others

others would keep it with us. Yet our want of prudence, for which we are to be blamed, is no excuse for your perfidiousness, nor can it purge that Infamy our just Complaints shall spread through the World, nor release you from the checks of your own Conscience; for when with those Arms prepared for our defence, you come to smite and injure us, you cannot but inwardly condemn your self to the punishment appointed for Parricides. And though Ambition should blind you, the whole World, witness to your Treachery, will open your eyes, God himself will open them, if Treasons, Perjury, and violated Faith displease him: unless (as hitherto for some occult end he has been) he still continue a favourer Malignant men. Promise not then to your self Victory which the just anger of God will deny you; and know, we shall till death defend our Liberty, and when we can no longer do it, submit it rather to any other Prince than you: or if our sins be so great that we must, in despite of us, fall into your hands, yet be assured, that Dominion you enter into by Fraud and Deceit, will end in you or in your Children with Loss and Ignominy. Though the Earl were touched to the quick with what the Milanesi had said, yet without any visible alteration either in words or gesture he answered; That he was content to attribute to their anger and passion all the injuries of their imprudent Speeches, to every particular of which he could give an Answer, were he before any that could judge of their Differences; that it might

The Earls
Answer to
the Mila-
nesi.

might appear he had not injured the Milanese, but only taken care they should not injure him; for they could not but be sensible of their practices after the Victory at Caravaggio, when instead of rewarding him with Brescia or Verona, they sought a Peace with the Venetians, that on him alone all the burden of the Hate might lye, whilst they enjoyed the fruits of the Victory, the sweetness of Peace, and all the advantages could be extracted from the War. Wherefore they had no reason to complain if he had now made that agreement they had first designed to do, which, if he had but a little delayed, he might with more Justice have reproached them with that ingratitude wherewith they now scandalize him; which, whether true or no, that God whom they invoke for their revenger, will by the conclusion of the War determine, by which it would appear which had acted with most Honesty, and fought with most Justice. The Ambassadors gone, the Earl gave order to assault the Milanese, and they prepared for their defence; and with Francis and Jacob Piccinino (whom out of the antient enmity between the Bracchi and Sforzi, had continued faithful to the Milanese) thought so long at least to defend their Liberty till they made a breach between the Earl and the Venetians, whom they knew to be faithless and inconstant friends. On the other side the Earl who knew this well enough, thought it a wise course, when Faith was too weak a cord to hold them, to strengthen it with Rewards; and therefore in distributing the

the gains of the War, he was content the Venetians should, if they took it, have Crema, and he with the remaining forces would assault the rest of that State. This Covenant made the Venetians continue firm, till the Duke had become master of all the Milanese Dominion, and so streightned the City, that despairing of any other aid, they sent Ambassadors to Venice, to beg their compassion, and that they would be pleased (according to the wont of their Commonwealth) to be favourers of liberty, and not of a Tyrant, who if once he became Lord of their City, they could not bridle at pleasure; for it was in vain for them to think, he would be kept to the conditions agreed to, or confined to the antient bounds of that Dominion. The Venetians had not yet mastered Crema; and being willing, before they changed countenance, to become Lords of that Town, they publickly answered them, that they could not, because of their agreement with the Earl, assist them; but privately they encouraged them to put their fellow Citizens in firm hopes of their friendship. The Earl with his forces was already got so near Milan, that he plundered the suburbs, when the Venetians (having taken Crema) thought fit no longer to defer making an accord with the Milanese, with whom they entred into Articles: the first of which was, that they would fully defend their Liberty; this agreement made, they commanded their forces which served under the

The Milanese crave compassion of the Venetians.

The Venetians make Peace with the Milanese.

the Earl, to withdraw from his Camp to their own, and at the same time signified to the Earl, the Peace they had made; giving him twenty daies, if he pleased, to accept it. The Earl did not much wonder at these proceedings of the *Venetians*, for he had long before foreseen it, and expected every day when it should happen; yet now it was befallen, he could not forbear fretting at it, and feeling the same passion within himself, as *Milanese* had done when he abandoned them, he took two dayes to return an answer to the Ambassadors, who brought him the signification of the Peace. In which time he determined to keep a treaty on foot, and yet follow his own delignes; wherefore he publicly declared he would accept the Peace, and sent Ambassadors with full commission to ratify it; but gave them private instructions not to do it, but only with cavils and delays gain time, and to confirm the *Venetians* in a beleif that he meant faithfully, he makes Truce for a Month with the *Milanese*, and drawing off his forces from the City, quartered them in the most convenient Towns he had in his possession about it. By this meanes he procured victory to himself, and ruined the *Milanese*: for the *Venetians* trusting to the Peace, made slow provision for War; and the *Milanese* seeing a Truce granted, the enemy withdrawn, and the *Venetians* their friends, flattered themselves that all was well, and that the Earl had given over his enterprize; which easie belief

believed did them double prejudice, for in the first place they neglected to prepare for their own defence, and then though the Country lay open to the Enemy (it being now Seed time) they sowed great quantities of grain whereby the Earl might the easier furnish them. All these things hurtful to the Enemy proved helps to the Earl, who besides gained so much time to breath and recruit his Army. In all this War of *Lombardy*, the *Florentines* had declared themselves on neither party; neither had they showed any favour to the Earl, either when he defended the *Milanese* or since; for indeed the Earl not standing in need of it, had never press'd it: only after the rout of *Caravaggio*, being obliged to it by the League, they had sent assistance to the *Venetians*: but now Earl *Francis* being left to himself, having no other recourse, was constrained instantly to urge the *Florentines* to assist him; which he did not only publicly to the State, but privately to his Friends, and especially to *Cosmo de Medici*, with whom he had alwaies preserved an inviolable friendship, and who in all his undertakings had faithfully Counsell'd, and largely supplied him: nor did *Cosmo* forsake him in this necessity, but as a private Person plentifully contributed to his relief, and encouraged him to proceed, withal moving the City publicly to assist him: but herein he found some difficulty. *Neri de Gino Capponi* was a man very powerful in *Florence*, and he was of Opinion, It was not for the interest of the City that the Earl should take Milan, judging it rather for the safety of

The Earl
solicites
the *Florentines*
aid.

Italy that the Peace were ratified, than the War prosecuted: for in the first place, he was doubtful least the Milanesse out of sight to the Duke should surrender to the Venetians, which would prove ruinous to all; and again, should the Earl become Master of Milan, he thought so mighty an Army, and so great a Dominion joyned to it, would render him too formidable; and if he were almost insupportable being but Earl, if once Duke, there would be no enduring him. Wherefore he thought it better for the Commonwealth of Florence, and all Italy, that the Earl should still preserve his Reputation in Arms, and Lombardy be divided into two Commonwealths, who would never joyn to offend others, and each by themselves could not do it: to bring which to pass he saw no way, but, by not relieving the Earl, and maintaining their old League with the Venetians. But Cosmo's Friends approved not these Reasons, which they thought Neri moved, not because indeed he thought it good for the Commonwealth, but because he would not have the Earl (so great a Friend of Cosmo's) become Duke, whereby he thought Cosmo would grow too powerful. Cosmo on the other side by Reason demonstrated, That the assisting the Earl was for the good of Italy and that Commonwealth; for it was an Opinion shewing of little wisdom, to think the Milanesse could ever preserve their Liberty, for both the Quality of the Citizens, their manner of living, and the ancient Factions in that City, were all contradictory to Civil Government; so that of necessity the Earl must become Duke, or the Venetians

tians Lords of it, and no man could be so much a fool as to start a doubt, whether it were better to have the neighbourhood of a potent Friend, or of a very powerful Enemy? nor was it, as he thought, to be doubted that the Milanesse (though they had War with the Earl) would ever submit to the Venetians; for the Earl had a Party in Milan, but they none; so that whenever they despaired of longer defending their Liberty, they would rather submit to the Earl than the Venetians. This diversity of Opinion held the City in a long suspense, but at last they determined to send Ambassadors to Treat with the Earl, with instructions, That if they found him strong, and likely to overcome, they should clap up an Agreement with him, but if not, then use Cavils and Delaies. These Ambassadors were in their way as far as Reggio, when they heard the Earl was already become Lord of Milan; for as soon as the Truce was expired, he had again drawn his Forces before that City, with hopes, in despite of the Venetians, shortly to possess it; for they could no way relieve it but by the way of the Adda, which he could easily block up; and he did not at all fear, since it was Winter, that the Venetians would encamp on the banks of that River; and before Spring he hoped to gain the Victory, especially since Francis Piccinino was dead, and the Milanesse had no other Captain but his Brother Jacob. The Venetians had sent their Ambassadors to Milan, encouraging those Citizens to defend themselves, and promising great and speedy succour. There hapned

happened during Winter divers light Skirmishes between the Earl and *Venetians*, and Spring coming on, the *Venetians* with their whole Army, under the Command of *Pandolpho Malatesta*, sat down on the banks of the *Adda*, where they began to consult, whether to relieve *Milan* they should assail the Earl, and try the fortune of a Battle. *Pandolpho* their General thought this too hazardous an Experiment, knowing the valour both of the Earl and his Army, believing they might easily vanquish him without fighting, the Earl being in great distress for want of Corn and Straw; he therefore advised they should keep that Post, so putting the *Milanese* in hopes, least in despair they should surrender to the Earl. This course was approved by the *Venetians*, as well because they thought it secure, as because they were in hopes, by holding the *Milanese* in necessity, they should constrain them to submit to their Dominion, perswading themselves, they would never yield to the Earl, considering the Injuries he done them; so that the *Milanese* were reduced to extream misery, and that City naturally abounding with Poor, they died in the very Streets with hunger, which caused Uproars and Complaints in divers parts of the City, that the Magistrates were forced to use their utmost endeavours to prevent a general Tumult. The Multitude are long before they are disposed to mischief, but once disposed, every little Accident moves them; so now two Persons, of no considerable Quality, discouraging together at the New Gate, of the Calamity

lunity of the City, and their own miseries, and what means there was yet left for safety; others began to gather about them, till at last they grew to be a great number; whereupon a Rumour was spread about the City, that those about the New Gate were in Arms against the Magistrates; upon which all the Multitude, who waited but such an occasion, took Arms, and made *Jasper* of *Vicomercato* their Leader, and going to the Palace where the Magistrates were assembled, they fell on with such fury, that all those that could not flie were slain; amongst whom was *Leonard Vinetto* the *Venetian* Ambassador, whom, as an occasioner of their Famine, and rejoycer at their Misery, they tore in pieces; and thus become (as it were) Princes of the City, they proposed among themselves, what was best to be done to release themselves from these Afflictions, and procure their quiet and repose; every man was of opinion, since they could no longer maintain their Liberty, that 'twas their best course to shelter themselves under the protection of some Prince able to defend them: some were for King *Alphonso*, others for the Duke of *Savoy*, and others would have the King of *France* for their Lord; not the least mention was made of the Earl, so prevalent was their anger against him: but when they could not agree upon any of the others, *Jasper* of *Vicomercato* was the first that named him, affirming, *That if they designed to free themselves from the War they groaned under, there was no other way but choosing him; for the People of Milan stood in*

A great
Tumult in
Milan.

The *Vene-*
tian Am-
bassadour
therein
slain.

need of a present and certain Peace, and could never be redrest by the tedious hopes of future relief. Then with the best of his invention he excused the Earls actions, accused the Venetians, and all the Princes of Italy, who would not, either out of Ambition or Avarice permit them to live free, and since they must give away their Liberty, they should give it to one who could and would defend them, that at least with their Servitude they might purchase Peace, and not a more dangerous and hazardous War. He was with wonderful attention listened to by all, and no sooner had done speaking, but they unanimously cryed out, That the Earl should be called in, making Jasper Ambassadour to that purpose, who, by command of the People, went to attend the Earl with this pleasant and joyful News; which the Earl gladly accepted, and entred into Milan, as Prince, on the 26 of February 1450, and was with wonderful joy received by those who not long before had defamed him with such spight and hatred. This News arriving at Florence, orders were dispatch'd to their Ambassadors, who were on their way, not to treat an Agreement with the Earl, but to congratulate the Duke for his Victory. These Ambassadors were, by the Duke, very Honourably received, for he very well knew that, against the power of the Venetians, he could not find in Italy more faithful nor braver Friends than the Florentines, who being quit of their fears of the Family of the Visconti, they believed must now be foret to engage against the Powers of Arragon, and Venice: for
the

Milan sur-
rendered to
Earl Fran-
cis, Feb. 26,
1450.

the Kings of Naples being of the House of Arragon were their Enemies, because of the friendship which they knew the Florentine People had alwaies kept with the House of France; and the Venetians sensible that the fear they before stood in of the Visconti, was now turned over to them, remembring with what earnestness they pursued the Visconti, and fearing the same persecutions, sought their ruine. This facilitated the New Duke in agreeing with the Florentines, and was likewise the occasion that the Venetians and King Alphonsò entred into a League against their common Enemies, and obliged themselves at the same time to begin the War, and that the King should assail the Florentines, and the Venetians the Duke; who, scarce settled in his Government, they thought not able, either with his own Force, or any assistance he could have from others, to maintain the War. But because the League between the Venetians and Florentines was still in force, and the King, after the War at Piombino, had likewise made Peace with them, they judg'd it not convenient to break the Peace, without some pretence to justify the War; and therefore they both sent Ambassadors to Florence, who on behalf of their Masters declared to the Florentines, that they had entred into that League, not to offend others, but to defend themselves. The Venetians further complained; that the Florentines had given passage to Alexander, the Dukes Brother, to march by the way of Lunigiana with his Forces into Lombardy; and had moreover been the Authours

and Advisers of the Agreement between the Duke and the Marquis of Mantova; all which things they affirmed to be prejudicial to their State, and contrary to the Friendship they had Contracted together; wherefore they could not but lovingly put them in mind, *That he who offends wrongfully, gives occasion to others to offend with reason; and he who breaks the Peace must look for War.* The Senate appointed Cosmo to return them an Answer to this Embassy, who, in a long and prudent Oration, made rehearsal of all the Benefits which the Republic of Venice had received from his City; setting forth, *How great a Dominion they had gained by the Florentine Money, Arms, and Counsel; and declaring, As the Florentines had been the occasion of the Friendship between them, they would never be the cause of any breach, but as they had been ever lovers of Peace, so they applauded the new League they had entered into, provided it was made for Peace and not for War.* 'Tis true, they could not but wonder at the Complaints, seeing so mighty a Republic make so great an account of things so light and vain, which, had they been indeed worthy of consideration, they would have all men know, that their Country should be free and open to any, and that the Duke was of that quality, that to Contract a Peace with Mantova he needed not their favour or advice: Wherefore he doubted there was some other poison hid under these Complaints, which, if it were so, they should easily make it appear, *That as the Florentine Friendship could administer advantage, so their Enmity could bring*

bring damage and annoyance. The matter was passed over lightly for the present, and the Ambassadors seem'd to go away satisfied: But yet the new League, and the measures held by the Venetians and the King, made both the Florentines and the Duke rather fear a new War, than hope a firm Peace: wherefore the Florentines entered into a stricter League with the Duke, and in the mean time the Venetians discovered their ill intentions; for they made a League with Siena, and banished all the Florentines, and their subjects, from their City and Dominions: And soon after Alphonso did the like, without any respect to the League made the Year before, or without any just, or so much as pretended occasion. The Venetians had a great desire to gain Bologna, and having gathered together all the Exiles of that City, with a good additional force, they conveyed them into Bologna by the Common-sewers. Nor was their Entrance known till themselves gave the Alarm; whereat Santi Bentivoglio starting from his sleep, was told the whole City was possessed by the Rebels; and though many advised him by flight to save his life, since he could not by staying save the State, yet he would out-brave Fortune, and Arming himself, encouraged his People, and making head with some of his Friends, charged a party of his Enemies, and routing them slew most, and drove the rest out of the City; whereupon all men adjudged him to be indeed of the blood of the Bentivogli. These Actions and open Attempts made the Florentines firmly believe a War would ensue: wherefore they apply-

The Venetians plot to surprize Bologna.

applied themselves to their usual course of defence, and Created the Council of Ten, entertained new Officers, sent Ambassadors to Rome, Naples, Venice, Milan, and Siena, to demand aid of their Friends, clear their own doubts and suspicions of those that were Neutral, and discover the Councils of their Enemies. From the Pope they gained nothing, but general assurances of his good Inclinations, and exhortations to Peace: From the King vain Excuses, for his having dismiss the *Florentines*, offering to give safe Conduct to whoever desired it, and though he contrived all he could to conceal the Counsels of the intended War, yet the Ambassadors discovered his evil Intentions, and detected many preparations of his designed to damage the Common-wealth. With the Duke, by various new Tyes and obligations, they fortified their league, and by his means contracted Amity with the *Genovese*, and their ancient differences of reprisals, and many other Quarrels they composed. Notwithstanding that, the *Venetians* all they could, obstructed those compositions, and forbore not soliciting the Emperour of *Constantinople* to forbid all *Florentines*, Trading in his Country: With so much rancour and malice they began this War, and so powerful in them was the desire of Rule, that without any sense of gratitude they sought the destruction of those who had raised them to their greatness. But the Emperour gave no ear to them. The *Florentine* Ambassadors were by the Senate of *Venice* forbid entrance into their Estates, alledging, That without the Kings participation,

having

having contracted so close an alliance with him, they could not receive them. The *Sanesi* courteously received their Ambassadors, fearful of being surprized before the League could rescue them, and they chose rather to temporize, than incense those Arms they could not resist. The *Kaetians* and King had designed (as hath been since conjectured) to have sent Ambassadors to *Florence* to justify the War; but since the *Venetians* would not be admitted into the *Florentine* Territories, and the Kings would not perform that office alone, that Embassy was left imperfect; but by this the *Venetians* knew, that the *Florentines* now as much undervalued them, as they had done *Florence* some months before. In the height of these fears *Frederick* the Third Emperour came into *Italy*, to his Coronation, and on the 30 *January* 1451, entred into *Florence* with 1400 Horse, and was by that Senate honourably receiv'd; he staid in that City till the sixth of *February*, and then continued on his Journey to *Rome*, where he was solemnly crowned, and celebrated his Nuptials with the Empress, who came to meet him by Sea, and so returning into *Germany* in *May*, he again past through *Florence*, and had the same honours paid him on his return as before. In his way home, to recompence some Services done him by the Marquis of *Ferrara*, he granted him *Modena* and *Reggio*. The *Florentines* all this while omitted no preparations for the independent War, and to gain themselves more reputation, and terrifie their Enemies, they and the Duke of *Milan* entred into an Offensive and Defen-

Frederick
the Third
Emperour
comes to
Florence.

The *Flo-*
rentines
make a
League
with
France.

five

The Venetians begin the War with the Duke.

five league with the King of France, which with great Magnificence and Joy they published throughout Italy. In the month of May 1452 the Venetians thought it no longer to defer the beginning of the War with the Duke, but with 14000 Horse and 6000 Foot invaded his Dominions, entring by the way of Lodi, and at the same time the Marquis of Montferrat, led by his own Ambition, or set on by the Venetians, assailed him on the confines towards Alexandria. On the other side the Duke had brought together an Army of 18000 Horse and 5000 Foot, and having put strong garrisons in to Alexandria and Lodi, and fortified all places where the Enemy could offend him, with his Army enters the Territories of Brescia, where he did the Venetians infinite damage on all sides, spoiling the Country, and Sacking the weaker Towns. And the Marquis of Montferrat being defeated at Alexandria by the Dukes forces, he could afterwards with more strength oppose the Venetians, and assail their Country. Whilst the War was thus managed in Lombardy, with various, but inconsiderable accidents: In Tuscany likewise began the War between King Alphonsus and the Florentines, which was prosecuted with no more Valour nor danger then that in Lombardy. Ferrando, Natural Son to Alphonsus, came into Tuscany with 12000 Men under the Command of Frederick Lord of Urbino, whose first enterprize was to besiege Foiana in the Vale of Chiana, for the Sanesi being their friends, they entred on that side into the Florentine Territories. This was but a small Castle, and

The Kings Army enters Tuscany.

and the Walls inconsiderable; The Garrisons were very few; but they accounted brave men in those times; for their whole force was but 200 sent thither from the Senate, and yet before this mighty Castle Ferrando encamps with his whole Army, and either through the Excess of Courage in those within, or want of it in the besiegers, he was 36 daies before he won it, which loss of time gave the Senate leisure to provide for other places of more moment, reinforce their Army, and put themselves in a better posture of defence then before. The Enemy possessed of this Castle, marched forward into Chianti, where they were from two small Country-towns repulsed: so leaving them, they laid Siege to Castelma, a Castle placed on the Confines of Chianti, within ten miles of Siena, weak by Art, and weaker by Nature; yet were not these two weaknesses Superior to the weakness of the Army that assailed it, for after 46 daies Seige they departed with shame. So formidable were these Armies, and so dangerous these Wars, that those Castles and Towns which now are slighted, as impossible to be defended, were then esteemed as places impregnable. Whilst Ferrando lay in the Country of Chianti, he made many inroads and incursions into the Florentine Territory, and entred within 6 miles of the City, to the great fear and Damage of the Florentine Subjects, who lay now with their Army, consisting of about 8000 Men, under the Command of Astorre de Faenza, and Gismond Malatesta, towards the Castle of Colle; keeping at a distance from the Enemy, lest they should be

be forced to come to a Battail; for they were of Opinion whilst they kept intire; they could not lose the War; for the little Castles that were lost would again by Peace be recovered, and the great Towns were secure because the Enemy durst not assail them. Besides all this the King had an *Armado* of about twenty Foists and Gallies, in the Sea of *Pisa*, and whilst he laid siege to *Castellina* they attempted the Fort of *Vada*, which by the Negligence of the Governour they took: by which meanes the Enemy much molested the adjacent Country, but that molestation was soon prevented by some Souldiers which the *Florentines* sent to *Campiglia*, who pen'd up the Enemy to the Sea-shore. The Pope concerned not himself in these Wars further, then endeavouring a reconciliation of all parties: but though he medled not with War abroad, he had like to have found danger at home. There was living in these times Mr. *Stephen Porcari*, ennobled by Blood and Learning, but much more famous for the Excellency of his Ingenuity. He had a mighty desire, as most men have that are Covetous of Glory, to do or at least attempt something memorable: And thought nothing nobler, than to redeem his Country out of the hands of the Prelates, and restore it to its pristine Estate; hoping if he effected it, to be stiled at least the new Founder, or second father of the City: The wicked lives of the prelates, and discontents of the Barons of *Rome*, made him hope for a happy issue; but that which most encouraged him were those Verses of *Petrarch's*, in that Song which begins,

Spirito

Spirito Gentile: where he saies,

*Sopra il monte Tarpeio Canzon vedrai
Un Cavalier ch' Italia tutta Honora
Pensoso pui d'altrui che di se stesso.*

Messer Stephen knew that Poets were oft-times filled with a divine and Prophetick Spirit, and therefore thought what *Petrarch* prophesied of in that Song must necessarily come to pass, and that he must needs be the Man to put in Execution those glorious Exploits, believing himself for Eloquence, Learning, Favour and Friends, superiour to any other *Roman*; and having possessed himself with this rapture, could not govern himself with any caution, but by Words, Conversation, and manner of Living discovered himself; so that the Pope grew jealous of him, and to hinder him from doing mischief, Confined him to *Bolonia*, giving order to the Governour of that City, to see and speak with him once a day. This first shock did not at all startle Messer Stephen, but rather with more diligence he pursued his design, and, in the most wary manner he could, he held Treaties with his Friends, and oftentimes went and returned from *Rome* with such celerity, that he still shewed himself to the Governour at the time limited: but at last, thinking he had drawn in enough to second him, he resolved no longer to delay the trial, but gave order to his Friends in *Rome*, That at a set time they should provide a splendid Supper, whither all the Conspirators were invited; with order, That every one

The Poet
seems to
foretel
some great
Exploits
of a *Roman*
Knight.

Stephen
Porcari
disturbs
Rome.

one should bring with him his most trusty Friends, promising to be with them by that time Supper was done. All was provided according to his directions, and Messer Stephen came amongst them into the House where they Supt: So that as soon as they had done Supper, he appeared to the Conspirators clad in Cloth of Gold, and with Chains and other Ornaments, to give him more Majesty and Reputation; and having kindly embraced them, he, with a long Oration, exhorted them to be of good Courage, and dispose themselves to so glorious an Enterprize: Then he ordered how the Design should be performed, directing one Party, next Morning early, to seize the Popes Palace, and the other, through the City, to call the People to Arms. But the matter came to the Popes Ear that Night (some affirm by the infidelity of the Conspirators; others say, he knew Messer Stephano was in Rome) however it was, that very Supper Night the Pope caused Messer Stephen, and most of his Company to be apprehended, and afterwards, according to their deserts and follies, put to death. This disastrous end had his Design, and certainly, however his intention may be commended, none but will blame his judgment; for though such Enterprizes may fill the imagination with some shadow of Glory, they have alwaies certain loss attends their execution. The War had now held in Tuscany almost a year; and the Spring 1453, and Season for Armies drawing into the Field being pretty well advanced, the Lord Alexander

Sforza

Sforza, Brother to the Duke, comes to assist the Florentines with 2000 Horse; with which the Florentine Army being well recruited; they resolved upon regaining what they had lost, and with little trouble retook all their Towns. Then they went to besiege *Foiano*, which for want of care in the Commissaries was sackt so, that the Inhabitants being disperst, they were with great difficulty brought back to their Habitations, till upon the grant of large Priviledges, and other Rewards, they returned. The Fort of *Vada* was likewise regained, for the Enemy, seeing they could not keep it, forsook and burnt it. And whilst these things were doing in the Florentine Army, the Aragon Forces, not having the confidence to draw nigh their Enemies, were retreated towards *Siena*, and made many incursions into the Lands of the Florentines, committing many Robberies, outrages, and violences. Nor did the King fail to make trial of other waies to assail the Enemy, by making them divide their Forces, and by new Troubles and Assaults to beat them out of heart. *Gerardo Garribatorti* was Lord of the Vale of *Bagno*, who alwaies, either out of Friendship or Obligation, had, together with his Ancestors, been Souldiers or Pensioners to the Florentines. This man held a private Correspondence with King *Alphonso*, for the exchanging his Estate for another, to be given him by the King, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. This design was revealed to the Florentines, who, to sound his intentions, sent a Messenger to remember him both of his, and his Predecessors

Mr. Stephen
put to
death.

1443.

cessors Obligations, and to exhort him to continue faithful to the Commonwealth. *Gerardo* seemed to admire at it, and with deep Oaths and Execrations protested, so treacherous a Thought never came in his mind, and that he would have gone himself to *Florence*, to remain there as a pledge of his Faith; but being himself indisposed, what he could not do himself he would make his Son do; whom he presently consigns to the Ambassadour to carry as a Hostage to *Florence*. These words, and these demonstrations, made the *Florentines* believe *Gerardo* in the Truth, and his Accusers vain Fellows and Lyars; whereupon they remained fully satisfied. But *Gerardo* with more instance continues his Treaty with the King, and having soon concluded it, the King sends *Frier Puccio*, a Knight of *Jerusalem*, with sufficient Force to take possession of the Castle and Lands of *Gerardo*. But the People of *Bagno*, being faithful to the *Florentines*, very unwillingly promised obedience to the Kings Officers. *Frier Puccio* had already taken possession of the whole Vale of *Bagno*, save only the Castle of *Corzano*. There happened to be with *Gerardo*, at the time of his making this Resignation, one *Anthony Guasendi a Pisan*, both young and Courageous, who was highly displeased at this Treason of *Gerardo's*, and having considered the situation of the Fortress, and the countenance of the Garrison, whom he perceived dissatisfied and discontented, seeing *Gerardo* standing at the Gate of the Castle to let in the Kings People, slips between him and the Gate, and with both

The Vale
of *Bagno*
betrayed
to the
King.

A *Pisan's*
fidelity to
the *Florentines*.

both his hands thrusts *Gerardo* out, and commands the Guards to shut the Fortress against him, and maintain it for the people of *Florence*. The Report of which being heard in *Bagno*, and other adjacent places, all the People took Arms against the *Arragonians*, and erecting the Standards of *Florence*, drove them thence. As soon as this matter was heard at *Florence*, they imprisoned *Gerardo's* Son, that was delivered them as Hostage, and sending Forces to defend that Country, reduced it from a Principality to a Lieutenantancy. But *Gerardo* (Traytour both to his Lords and to his own Son) though with difficulty escaped, leaving his Wife, Family, and all his Substance in his Enemies hands. This success was much valued in *Florence*; for, had the King had the fortune to become Lord of it, he might with small expence, at his pleasure have made incursions into the Vale of *Tevere* and *Casentino*, and so annoyed the Republick, that they could not have kept their Forces entire to oppose the *Arragon* Army, then lying near *Siena*. The *Florentines*, besides the preparations made in *Italy*, to suppress the force of the adverse League, had sent Messer *Agnolo Acciaiuolo* their Ambassador to the King of *France*, to Treat with him, to give leave to *Renate* of *Anjou* to come into *Italy*, in favour of the Duke and them; whereby he might both defend his Friends, and being in *Italy*, watch some opportunity to regain his Kingdom of *Naples*: towards which, they promised him assistance of Men and Mony: So that whilst the War was managed, in the manner we have related,

The *Florentines*
send an
Ambassadour
to
France.

in Lombardy and Tuscany, the Ambassadour made an Agreement with *Renate*, that he should, by the latter end of *June*, come with 2400 Horse into *Italy*, and that at his arrival at *Alexandria*, the League should pay him 30000 Florins; and afterwards, during the War, 10000 Florins a Month. Pursuant to this accord, he being about to pass into *Italy* was stopt by the Duke of *Savoy*, and Marquis of *Montferrat*, who, being Friends to the *Venetians*, denyed him passage. Whereupon the King was by the *Florentine* Ambassadour advised, that, to add to his Friends Reputation, he should return back to *Florence*, and by Sea carry some of his Forces into *Italy*, and in the mean time, endeavour to perswade the King of *France*, to Mediate with the Duke of *Savoy* to grant passage to the rest: According to his Advice it was done; for *Renate* came by Sea into *Italy*, and his Forces at the King of *France*'s instance were admitted into *Savoy*. King *Renate* was most honourably received by Duke *Francis*, and the *French* and *Italian* Troops being joyned, assailed the *Venetians* with so much vigour, that in a short time they recovered all the Towns taken in the Territory of *Cremona*; and not therewith content, possessed themselves of the greater part of the *Brescian* Country; and the *Venetian* Army not thinking it secure to keep the Field, was drawn under the Walls of *Brescia*. But Winter approaching, the Duke thought fit to draw the Army into Quarters, assigning *Piacenza* for the Kings. Thus they lay all the Winter 1453 without doing any thing, and when Spring

was

Renate of
Anjou
comes in-
to *Italy*.

was come, and 'twas thought the Duke would draw into the Field, and drive the *Venetians* out of all their Territories on the Main, the King let the Duke understand, that he must of necessity return to *France*. This determination seem'd as strange, as it was unlookt for by the Duke, and very sensibly it afflicted him; but though he went in Person to dissuade the Kings departure, he could neither by Prayers or Promises prevail, only he offered to leave part of his Forces, and send *John* his Son to serve the League in his stead. This going away of *Renate* did not at all displease the *Florentines*, for having recovered their Castles they stood no longer in fear of the King; and on the other side, they desired the Duke should recover no more than his own Lands in *Lombardy*. *Renate*, after his departure, sent his Son *John* into *Italy*, who stay'd not long in *Lombardy*, but came to *Florence*, where he was honourably received. The Kings departure made the Duke very inclinable to Peace, and the *Venetians*, *Alphonso*, and the *Florentines*, being all weary, were extream willing to it; besides, the Pope had with all earnestness pressed, and did still press it: for this same year *Mahomet*, the Great Turk, had taken *Constantinople*, and made himself Lord of all *Greece*, which extreamly frightened all Christians, and especially the *Venetians* and the Pope, who both thought they already felt his Arms in *Italy*. Wherefore the Pope prayed the *Italian* Powers to send their Ambassadors with authority to confirm an universal Peace: they all obeyed, and coming to dispute the merits of the Cause,

Renate re-
turns a-
gain for
France.

6 E 3

there

there was found some difficulty in the Treaty, the *Venetians* demanded from the Duke *Croma*, and the Duke from them *Bergamo*, *Brescia* and *Crema*; so that it was thought impossible to resolve this difficulty. But what at *Rome*, many thought so hard to be done, at *Milun* and *Venice* proved easie; for whilst they were still treating Peace at *Rome*, the Duke and *Venetians*, on the 9 of *April* 1454, concluded it, by virtue of which, each was to be mutually restored to the Towns and Lands they had before the War, and the Duke had liberty to recover the Towns taken from him by the Duke of *Savoy*, the Marquis of *Montferrat*, and other *Italian* Princes; and a Months time was allowed to ratifie it. The Pope, *Florentines*, and with them the *Sanesi*, and other lesser Potentates, ratified it within the time; and not content therewith, a Peace was concluded between the *Florentines*, Duke, and *Venetians* for 25 years. King *Alphonso* was the only Prince of *Italy* that seem'd dissatisfied with this Peace, thinking it somewhat entrenched upon his Reputation, being received into it not as a principal but as an adherent; wherefore he kept long in suspense, and could not let his intentions be understood. But the Pope and other Princes having sent him many solemn Embassies, he suffered himself to be persuaded by them, and especially by the Pope, and together with his Son, entred into this League for 30 years; and the Duke and King contracted double alliance, by intermarriage of their Daughters to each others Son. Notwithstanding, that there might yet remain some seeds of War in *Italy*, he would not consent to the Peace, till the

Peace fully concluded.

Col-

Colleagues had granted him leave, that he might, without injury to them, make War upon the *Genovese*, *Gismond Malatesta*, and *Astorre Prince of Paenza*. And now the accord completed, *Ferrand* his Son who was still at *Siena*, returned into the Kingdom, having by his Expedition into *Toscany* gained no Dominion, but lost a great many Men. This universal Peace being thus brought to an issue, all the fear remaining was, least King *Alphonso's* enmity to the *Genovese* should disturb it. The *Venetians* (according to their custom when Peace is made) having discharged *Jacob Piccinino*, one of their Leaders, he joyning himself with several other Captains out of employment, came to *Romania*, and from thence into the Country of *Siena*, where *Jacob* sitting down, began a War, and took many Towns from the *Sanesi*. In the beginning of these Troubles, and commencement of the year 1455 died Pope *Nicholas*, and to him succeeded *Calixtus* the Third. This Pope to suppress the new and neighbouring War, under *John Ventimiglia* his General, drew together as great a Power as so suddenly he could (and joyning with the Dukes and *Florentine* Forces, who were likewise brought on foot to suppress these disorders) sent them against *Jacob Piccinino*; and the two Armies engaging near *Bolsena*, though *Ventimiglia* was taken Prisoner, yet *Jacob* lost the day, making a flying retreat to *Castiglione* in *Pescia*, and had not King *Alphonso* supplied him with Money, he had been utterly undone, which made many think this Attempt of *Jacobs* was made by the Kings Orders. Whereupon *Alphonso* supposing him-

Jacob Piccinino begins fresh Troubles.

Jacob routed at *Bolsena*.

self discovered, to reconcile himself to the Col-
leagues and the Peace, from which he seem'd
by this feeble War to have alienated himself
ordored things so, that *Jacob* should restore to
the *Sanesi* their Towns, and they give him
20000 Florins; and this Agreement made, he
received *Jacob* into the Kingdom. In these times
though the Pope busied himself in bridling *Jac-
ob's* Violencies, yet he was not wanting to take
order for the support of Christianity, which he
beheld sadly oppressed by the *Turks*: where-
fore he sent into all Christian Provinces Am-
bassadors and Preachers, to perswade the Prin-
ces and People to Arm themselves in defence
of their Religion; and with their Estates and
Persons encourage an Expedition against the
common Enemy: Whereupon in *Florence* great
Alms were gathered, and many wore the sign
of the Cross as a badge, that they were ready
to serve in Person: Many solemn Processions
were likewise made; nor was there any thing
wanting, either in the publick or private Per-
sons, to demonstrate, They would be of the
first rank of *Christians* both for Counsel, Men,
and Money, to forward such an Enterprize. But
the heat of this *Croisado* was cooled by a new
Accident which intervened. The *Turk* being
with his Army at the Siege of *Belgrade*, a
Town situate in *Hungary* on the River *Dan-
ube*, was by the *Christian* Army routed, and
himself wounded: So that the Pope and other
Christians having outworn their Fears, concei-
ved for the loss of *Constantinople*, the prepa-
rations for War became lukewarm, and by
the death of *John*, the *Vaivod* General in that
Victory

The Pope
endeavors
a War a-
gainst the
Turk.

Victory grew quite cold. But to return to Af-
fairs in *Italy*: In the year 1456 the War begun
by *Jacob Piacinino* being put an end to, so that
Arms among Men were quite laid aside, it
appeared as if God had taken them up; for
there happened such prodigious Storms of
Wind in *Toscany*, that the like was never heard
of before, and the effects of them will seem
admirable to, and astonish future Generations:
On the 26 of August, an hour before day, from the
Adriatick Sea, opposite to *Ancona*, there arose a
dark, thick and foggy Cloud, extending it self
for the space of two miles, which crossing *Italy* to
the Sea opposite to *Pisa*, forced by superior pow-
er (whether natural or supernatural) was torn
asunder and divided, and the broken pieces fu-
riously agitated, and seeming to fight and jostle
each other, sometimes mounting up to Heaven,
and then again with great fury descending, and
often whirl'd about with violent motion, still
sending before them a most tempestuous Wind, with
strange and monstrous flashes and flames of fire;
and from these broken and confused Clouds, those
furious Winds, and frequent Lightnings, issued a
dreadful noise, more terrible than ever any Earth-
quake or Thunder that had ever been heard, to the
terror and amazement of all Beholders, who
could think nothing but that the World was at an
End, and that Fire, Air, Earth and Water, were
returning into their first Chaos. Wherever this
prodigious Storm reached, it produced strange and
monstrous effects; but the most notable of all hap-
pened about the Castle of *St. Caxiano*. This Ca-
stle is about eight miles from *Florence*, on the
Hills that part the Vale of *Pisa* and Greve:
This

Strange
Storms in
Toscany.

This furious Tempest passing between that Castle and the Borough of St. Andrew, seated upon the same Hill, touched not St. Andrews, and only in the passing threw down some Turrets and Chimneys in St. Caxiano; but about as much forward as it is between one of those Towns and the other, many Houses were levelled with the very ground, and the Roofs of the Churches of St. Martin, at Bagnuolo and St. Maria della Pace, whole, as they stood upon them, were carried above a mile distance: a Carrier likewise, with his Mules, in the Valley; a good distance from the Road, were found dead. All the stubbornest Oaks, and strongest Trees, that would not bend to this violence, were not only torn up by the roots, but carried a good distance from the place where they grew. So that when the Storm was over, men were struck with wonder and admiration to behold the Country waste and desolate, Churches and Houses ruined, Poor people lamenting to see their Habitations thrown down, and under their Ruines their Beasts and Family buried: so that whoever saw or heard it, was affected with horror and compassion. Certainly by this God intended rather to threaten than chastize Tuscany; for had this Storm entred into any City, where Houses and Inhabitants were thick, as it did among the Oaks and Trees, and small dispersed Houses, certainly it had caused that ruine and destruction can hardly be imagined. But God was pleased with this small Example to revive in mens minds the memory of his Power. But to return where I left. King Alphonso was, as I said before, dissatisfied with the Peace, and since the War he had, by Jacob Piccinino, moved

without

without any reasonable occasion, had produced no important effect, he would make trial what those would produce which by the Articles of the League he had power to move. And therefore in the year 1456, he by Sea and Land makes War on the Genovese, desirous to restore the State to the Adorni, and take it from the Fregosi who now Governed; and in the mean time sends Jacob Piccinino against Gismond Malatesta, but he having placed strong Garrisons in his Towns, cared not much for Jacob, so that on this part the King did no great matter; but his Attempt on Genova created him and his Kingdom more War than he had a mind to. Peter Fregosa was now Doge of Genova, who fearful he could not support himself against the Kings power, resolved at least to give what he could not keep himself, to one that could defend him from his Enemies, and might some time or other, for such a service, give him a proportionable reward; to which end he sends Ambassadors to Charles the Seventh of France, offering him the Dominion of Genova. Charles accepts the offer, and sends John of Anjou, son of King Renate to take possession of that City, who sometime before having left Florence was returned to France; and Charles perswaded himself that John having learnt many of the Italian Customs, might Govern that City better than any other; and he was likewise in hopes he might find an opportunity to make from thence an expedition to Naples to recover that Kingdom which Alphonso had taken from his Father. John comes therefore to Genova, where he was received as Prince, and all the Forces of that

King Alphonso makes War on the Genovese, and on Gismond Malatesta.

Death of
Alphonso
King of
Castile.

The Pope
designs
that King-
dom for
his Nephew
but dies.

that City and State delivered into his possession. This accident much displeased *Alphonso*, who doubted he had engaged a too important Enemy against himself; yet not at all dismayed, he courageously pursues his enterprize, and had already brought his *Armado* under *Villa Martina* to *Porto Fino*; where seized with a sudden distemper he dies. By his death, *John* and the *Genovese* were delivered from this War; and *Ferrand* who succeeded his Father in the Kingdom, grew extremely suspicious; for having now an Enemy of such reputation in *Italy*, and being jealous of many of his Barons, whose fidelity he doubted, and whose inclination to novelty he knew, he was not without cause fearful lest they should take part with the *French*: he likewise feared the Pope (whose ambition he was sensible of) lest whilst he was yet unsettled in his Kingdom, he should endeavour to deprive him of it: All his hopes was in the Duke of *Milan*, who was no less concerned for the Kingdom, than *Ferrand* himself; for he was jealous should the *French* become masters of it, they might likewise grasp at his estates, to which he very well knew they laid a claim. Wherefore no sooner was *Alphonso* dead, but that Duke sent Letters and Forces to *Ferrand*, these to give him aid and reputation, those to exhort him to be courageous; assuring him he would not in any necessity forsake him. The Pope after the death of *Alphonso*, designed to give that Kingdom to *Peter Lodovick Bergia* his Nephew: but to give his design a more specious pretence, he declared, that he intended to reduce it under that empire of the Church, and

and to that purpose perswaded the Duke not to give any encouragement to *Ferrand*: offering him those Towns he was already possesst of in that Kingdom. But in the height of these thoughts, and contrivances of new troubles, Pope *Calixtus* dies; to whom succeeded *Pius* the second, a *Sanese*, of the Family of the *Piccolomini*, and called *Aeneas*: this Pope employing all his thoughts for the good of Christendom, and the honour of the Church, setting aside all private interest and passion, at the intreaty of the Duke of *Milan*, crowns *Ferrand* King; judging, he might rather preserve the peace of *Italy* by maintaining him in his possession, than either by favouring the *French* claim, or usurping that Kingdom (as *Calixtus* would have done) to himself: In requital of which favour, *Ferrand* makes *Anthony*, the Popes Nephew, Prince of *Malphi*, and gives him his natural daughter to wife; he likewise restores *Beneventum* and *Terracina* to that Church. And now *Italy* seemed in perfect quiet, and the Pope disposed himself to promote an expedition against the *Turks*, as *Calixtus* had begun to do, when there happened a dissention, between the *Fregosi* and *John* Lord of *Genova*; which kindled a more important War, than any had bin before. *Petrino Frigosi* was retired to a Castle of his upon the *Riviera*; not thinking himself recompensed by *John* of *Anjou* in any proportion, to the deserts of himself or his family, who had bin the only instruments to make him Prince of that City, so that at last they came to open enmity. This was very pleasant to *Ferrand*, as the only meanes and path to his security; wherefore he supplied

The *Fregosi* attempts to seize *Genova*.

Petrino
Fregosi
 slain.
John of
Anjou
 makes an
 Expedition
 on to re-
 gain Na-
 ples.

supplied *Petrino* with Men and Mony, hoping by him to drive *John* from that State: whereof *John* having intelligence, sends into *France* for aid, with which he marches to encounter *Petrino*, but found him by the great assistance given him so strong, he thought it best to retreat, and guard the City: Into which *Petrino* one night enters, and takes possession of some places; but day appearing, he was by *John's* forces encountered, and slain, and most of his People kill'd or taken. This Victory encouraged *John* to venture an Expedition against the Kingdom; and in *October*, in the year 1459, with a great Armado he sails to *Baia*, and thence proceeds to *Sessa*, where he was by that Duke received. The Prince of *Terrapto*, the *Aquilani*, and many other Cities and Princes joyned with *John*; so that the whole Kingdom was in confusion; which *Ferrand* seeing, had recourse to the Pope and Duke; and that he might have the fewer Enemies, makes Peace with *Gismund de Malatesta*, at which *Jacob Piccinino* was so angry, being a profest Enemy of *Gismunds*, that deserting his Service he joyns with *John*. *Ferrand* therefore sends Mony to *Frederick* Lord of *Urban*, and with as much speed as he could, gathers together (for those times) a good Army, and on the River *Sarni* faces his Enemy; but in the ingagement *Ferrand* was routed, and most of his best Captains taken: After this defeat, the City of *Naples*, and some few Princes and Towns, continued faithful to *Ferrand*, but the greatest part yielded to *John*. *Jacob Piccinino* would have had *John* immediately upon this Victory, have marched directly up

to

to *Naples*, and possess himself of the Head of the Kingdom: but *John* would not, saying, *He would first possess himself of all the other part of his Dominions, and then assault him*; thinking, that if he were Master of all the other Towns, *Naples* would soon be gained. But taking this course, he took away Victory from himself, for he did not consider, that the Members more easily follow the Head, than the Head the Members. After his defeat, King *Ferrand* had saved himself in *Naples*; whither those of his Subjects, that were driven from their Estates, fled to him for shelter; and, in the gentlest manner he could, he gathers Mony and makes a little head of an Army: he sends afresh for Aid to the Pope and Duke, who both supplied him in a larger manner, and with more expedition than before. So that now grown strong, he marches out of *Naples*, and having begun to recover Reputation, recovers some of the lost Towns. Whilst War raged thus in the Kingdom, happened an Accident, which took from *John* both his Reputation and Power to overcome. The *Genovese*, weary of the covetous and insolent Government of the *French*, took Arms against the Kings Governour, and forced him to fly into the little Castle: In this Attempt the *Adorni* and *Fregosi* were agreed, and supplied by the Duke of *Milan* with Men and Mony, as well to recover the State as defend it. So that King *Renate*, who was coming with a Fleet to the assistance of his Son, hoping he might regain *Genova*, by means of the little Castle, as he was landing his forces, was so totally routed, that he was forced with shame to return to

Province

Genova
 rebels
 from *John*
 of *Anjou*.

John driven out of the Kingdom.

Proquise. This News coming to the Kingdom of Naples quite daunted John of Anjou; yet he would not give over, but for some time maintained the War, aided by those Barons, who for their Rebellion against Ferrand, thought they should find no pardon. At last after sundry Accidents, a pitched Battle was fought between the two Royal Armies, in the year 1463, near Troja, wherein John was defeated; yet was not the loss of the Battle of that consequence, as the loss of Jacob Piccinino, who deserted him and joyned with Ferrand, so that having no Forces to rely upon, he retreated to Histria, and thence returns to France. This War lasted four years, and he lost that by his own Neglect, which the Valour of his Soldiers had several times won. In this War the Florentines were not at all concern'd, though true it is, King John of Arragon, newly raised to that Kingdom, by the death of Alphonsa, did by his Ambassador request them to assist his Nephew Ferrand, as they were obliged by the League made with Alphonsa his Father. To which the Florentines answered, *They were not bound to help the Son in a War the Father had brought upon himself; and that as it was begun without their Counsel, so it should be continued and ordered without their Aid.* Whereupon the Ambassadors, on their Kings behalf, protested the penalty of the Obligation, and Damages, and in a rage departed the City. So that the Florentines were all the time of this War, as to Foreign Affairs, in peace; but they enjoyed not that quiet within, as in the next Book shall be fully declared.

The End of the Sixth Book,

THE Florentine History

Written by

NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

BOOK VII.



Those who read the former Books may perhaps imagine that a writer of the Florentines Affairs, may have extended too largely the relations of things done in Lombardy, and the Kingdom; yet, neither hitherto have I, nor shall I for the future avoid such Narratives, for though I never promised a History of Italy, yet I judge it proper to make a relation of the most notable things happened in that Province, because the omitting them would render our History more obscure, and consequently much less delightful; especially since from the actions of other people and Princes of Italy oftentimes arose those wars, in which the Florentines were forced to concern themselves, thus from

from the war between *John of Anjou*, and King *Ferdinand*, proceeded that enmity and implacable hatred, which ensued afterwards between *Ferdinand* and the *Florentines*, and particularly between *Ferdinand* and the Family of the *Medici*, for the King complained not only, that himself was not assisted in that war, but that his Enemies were by the *Florentines* favoured, and his displeasure therefore conceived against them was the occasion of exceeding many inconveniences, as shall hereafter be declared; and because I have written at large such matters as have happened without the City, till the year 1463, 'twill be requisite for the better relating those troubles, which in that time happened within the City, to look some years backwards. But first, according to my custom let me by way of discourse say, that who ever thinks any Republick can be united, flatters himself with a vain hope; true it is that some divisions are prejudicial, and others again beneficial to a Commonwealth. Those are attended with prejudice and damage, which are with Factions and Followers accompanied; and those produce benefit and advantage which without Factions and Followers are maintained. Since then no Founder of a Commonwealth can so establish it that no enmities arise in it, he ought at least to provide, that no Factions get head, to which end he is to consider that in all Cities, Citizens gain themselves reputation either by publick or private means:

means: publick Renown is attained to by victory in the field, by the taking of Towns, by the careful and discreet discharging of Embassies, or by the giving to the State prudent and successful Counsels: private means by which reputation is attained to, are gratifying particular Citizens, defending them from punishment, supplying them with money, advancing them undeservedly to honour and employment, and entertaining and pleasing the Commonalty with sports and gifts; and from hence arises parties, followers and factions. And though reputation thus attained may offend, yet it may likewise be useful, when not incumbered with factious followers, because it is only founded on private good; for though 'tis impossible by the wisdom of man to prevent animosities from arising among such Citizens, yet having no followers, that for their private ends adhere to them, they cannot prejudice the Commonwealth, but may well advantage it, for in aspiring to their own ends, they must necessarily advance the interest of the State, and by being continually watchful over one anothers actions, they take care that no Law nor civil Constitutions be infringed. The enmities of *Florence* were always accompanied with factions and followers, and were therefore always prejudicial, nor was any victorious faction longer united than the adverse party continued in some power, but as soon as their enemies were quite extinct, then they

divided among themselves, having no fears to restrain, nor rule nor order to bridle them. The Faction of *Cosmo de Medici* got in the year 1434 the superiority, and because the oppressed party had still some life, and was supported by many mighty men they through fear continued united and tolerably quiet, so long as they lived free from error and scandal, nor had by sinister dealings incurred the hate of the people; so that whenever the Government had occasion of the people to re-establish their Authority, they found them always ready to give unto the chief of that Faction the *Balia*, or what ever Authority they desired, and thus from the year 1434 to 1455, being one and twenty years, they were six times confirmed in the *Balia* by the usual election of the Councils. There were in *Florence* (as we have several times before mentioned) two mighty Citizens *Cosmo de Medici* and *Neri Capponi*, of which *Neri* was one who had by publick means attained his reputation, so that he had many Friends, but few Followers; on the other side *Cosmo* having both by publick and private ways aspired to his greatness, had Friends and Followers in abundance. These two during their lives continuing united, easily obtained of the people what ever they desired, because they had love mixed with their Authority, but in the year 1455 *Neri* being dead, the Faction found it difficult to be confirmed in their Authority, and *Cosmo's* particular Friends

Cosmo de Medici, Neri Capponi.

Friends (and those of the most powerful in the State) were the occasion of it, for standing no more in awe of the adverse party now quite extinct, they had a desire to diminish his Authority, which proved the beginning of those divisions that afterwards in the year 1466 happened, for those to whom the Government appertained, in the Councils (where they freely debated the publick administrations) advised, that it was convenient the *Balia* should not be re-assumed, but that the purses should be filled up, and the Magistrates chosen by lot according to the favour and method of the former imbursements. To allay this humour *Cosmo* had but one of these two remedies to choose, either with those Followers which still adhered to him to seize the Government by force, and compel all the rest to submit, or else to let matters proceed, and in time let his Friends know, that they deprived not him, but themselves of their Reputation and Government; of which two remedies he chose this last, for he knew that by this way of choice, the purses being full of his Friends, he could not run any hazard, and might at pleasure resume the Government. The City thus again reduced to the choosing Magistrates by lot, the universality of the Citizens believed they had regained their Liberty, and that the Offices should no more be supplied according to the will of the mighty men, but as they themselves thought fit; so that now one great

mans followers, and then anothers were beaten, and they who used to behold their houses full of suitors and presents, now beheld them empty both of men and gifts, they likewise saw themselves become equal with those which had been accounted far inferiour to them, and their equals were become their Superiours; neither were they respected nor honoured, but many times laugh'd at, and derided; and in the Streets and Market places the people took a freedom to discourse what they pleased, either of them, or the Common-wealth, so that they soon became sensible not *Cosmo*, but they had had lost the Authority; all which *Cosmo* dissembled, and when ever any thing pleasing to the people was debated, he was the first to promote it: but that which most of all terrified the great men, and gave *Cosmo* an opportunity of being again sought after, was the reviving of the *Catasto* of 1427. whereby Taxes were to be imposed by rule of Law, and not by the will of men. This Law passed, and Commissioners to put it in execution elected, made all the great Citizens assemble together, and going to *Cosmo*, intreat him that he would be pleased to rescue both them and himself from the hands of the people, and restore the State to that reputation which might increase his power, and recover their honour, to which *Cosmo* made answer, that he was content, provided the Law were made orderly by consent of the people, and not

not by any force, for otherwise he would have no concern in it, nor should it once be moved; they therefore attempted the Councils by a Law to establish a new *Balia*, but obtained it not, whereupon all the great men returned to *Cosmo*, and in most humble manner besought him to consent to a Parliament, which *Cosmo* utterly denied out of design to make them sensible of the error they had committed, and because *Donato Cochi* then *Gonfaloniere* of Justice, would without his consent have summoned a Parliament, *Cosmo* procured him to be scoffed and scorned at by the Senators that sate with him in Office, that growing mad upon it, he was sent home to his house for a Lunatick, nevertheless lest he should at length suffer things to run so far out of order that they would not so easily when he had a mind to it, be retrieved: *Luke Pitti* (a self-willed daring man) being elected *Gonfaloniere* of Justice, he judged it convenient to leave the whole management of the affair to his discretion, that if there happened any miscarriage, the fault might be imputed to *Luke*, and not to him; *Luke* at his entrance into the Magistracy, made several propositions to the people for reviving the *Balia*, and being refused it, threatened those which sate in the Councils with haughty and injurious words, and soon after proceeded to deeds, for in August 1453, on the vigils of *S. Laurence* having filled the Palace with armed men, and sum-

Luke Pitti
Gonfaloniere
etc.

*Girolamo
Machiavel
confined.*

moning the people into the *Piazza*, he made them by force consent to that, which voluntarily they would never have agreed to: the Government thus reassumed, and the *Balia* created, the chiefest of the Magistracy (by the advice of a few) to begin that Government with terror, which they had gotten by violence, confined *Messer Girolamo Machiavel* with some others, and many they deprived of their Offices; *Girolamo* for not obeying his confinement was proclaimed Rebel, and going up and down *Italy*, stirring up all Princes and States against his Countrey, was in *Lunigiana* by the treachery of one of the Senators there, taken; and brought to *Florence* where he died in prison. This kind of Government for eight years that it lasted, was most violent and insupportable, for *Cosmo* through age and distemper grown weak and indisposed, not being able to give that attendance he was wont on the publick Affairs, a few Citizens at their pleasure prey'd upon, and spoiled the City: *Luke Pitti* as a reward of his good service done to the Commonwealth, was knighted, and he to testifie no less gratitude to the State, than the State had done to him, would have those formerly called *Priors of the Trades* (that at least they might reserve the Title of what they had lost possession of) now to be called *Priors of the Liberty*, and whereas the *Gonfalonieres* used formerly to be seated on the right hand of the Rectors or Governours, he

he ordered they should hereafter take place in the midst of them; and that God might seem to be a partaker in these actions, publick procession and prayers were ordered to be made with thanksgivings for the restoration of their Honours. *Messer Luke* had been both by the Senate and *Cosmo* very richly presented, and after their examples the Citizens were even at strife who should first bring his gift, so that it was generally supposed the whole value of his presents could not amount to less than twenty thousand Duckats, which raised him to such a height of reputation, that not *Cosmo* but *Luke* governed the City, & swelled him to that confidence, that he began to erect two Princely and magnificent Palaces, one in *Florence*, the other at *Rucciano* about a mile distant from the City: but that in *Florence* was much larger and more stately than ever till that time had been attempted to be built by any private Citizen; and to bring it to perfection he was thrifty of all advantages, and spared not to make use of any extraordinary means, for not only particular Citizens and private persons presented him, and supplied him with necessaries for the building, but the whole Commonalty and people laid their hands to the work; and besides every Bandito, Thief, or Assassinate, or any other offender that stood in fear of punishment, if he were any way useful to the work might in these Fabricks find a secure Sanctuary; though the other Citizens built not like him

*Luke Pitti's
stately build-
ings.*

War in the
Kingdom &
Romania.

Death of
Cosmo de
Medici.

yet were they no less tyrannical and rapacious than he; so that whilst *Florence* had no enemy from abroad to oppose it, it was destroyed and wasted by its own Citizens. During these Transactions, happened as hath been said before, the war in the Kingdom, and the Pope in *Romania* had some skirmishes with the Family of the *Malatesti*, from whom he had a great mind to take *Rimini* and *Cesena*, then in their possession; so that in this enterprise, and in studying how to carry on a war against the Turks, Pope *Pius* spent his Papacy: whilst *Florence* continued in its troubles and divisions. The first breach in *Cosmo's* party began in the year 1455 upon the occasion before recited, which by his prudence as we have declared, was for that time composed, but in the year 1464 *Cosmo's* Distempers and weakness increased so violently that he departed this life; both his friends and enemies lamented his death, for those who for reasons of State loved him not, beholding the extortion of the Citizens, whilst he yet lived (out of reverence to whom they were somewhat restrained) feared now that he was gone they should be utterly ruined and destroyed, for in *Peter* his son they had little confidence, who though he was a good man, yet being both sickly and unsettled and raw in the Government, he was forced to bear respect to others, who now run on in a full carriere of rapine and oppression, having no reins to curb or restrain

strain them. *Cosmo* was the most famous and renowned Citizen (not being a man of war) that ever had lived in the memory of mankind, either in *Florence* or any other City what ever, not only exceeding all other Citizens of his time in Riches and Authority, but likewise in Liberality and Prudence; for that which among many other admirable qualities, entitled him most of all to the being esteemed the principal person of his Countrey, was his being liberal and magnificent, there scarce being a Citizen that lived in any repute, but he had lent great sums of money to, and oftentimes upon information of the necessities of persons of quality without being asked, he supplied their occasions; nor were his magnificent buildings less evidences of the greatness of his mind, for besides his reparations he founded the Convents and Churches of *S. Mark*, and *S. Laurence*, and the Monastery of *S. Verdiano* in *Florence*, the Church of *Gerolamo*, and the Abbey thereto belonging in the mountains of *Fiesole*, and a Church of Friars Minors in *Magello*, and moreover in the Abbeys of the Holy Cross of the *Servi*, of *Agnoli* and *S. Ninuato*, he erected many sumptuous Altars and Chappels, all which Churches and Chappels, besides the erecting them he endowed and furnished with all ornaments necessary for Divine Service, to which sacred Buildings and Dedications may be added his private Fabricks, whereof are still extant one Palace in the City more than

The sumptuous Building of *Cosmode Medici*.

than becoming a person of his quality, and four in the Countrey at *Careggio*, *Fiesoli*, *Casaggivolo* and *Febrio*, all houses fitter for Princes than private Citizens, and least his magnificent edifices in *Florence* should not give him sufficient Renown, he built in *Jerusalem* an Hospital for poor and diseased Pilgrims, in which work he expended vast sums of money, yet though these Palaces and all his actions and works were so majesticall, and he lived in *Florence* like a Prince, yet all his deportments were tempered with so much Prudence, that he never exceeded the bounds of common modesty and civil order, for in his conversation, house-keeping, attendance, and marrying his children, he surpassed not any other discreet and civil Citizen, for he knew that an extraordinary pomp and train, which is daily viewed and gazed at, contracts more envy than solid actions covered with honest modesty; when therefore he was to match any of his sons, he sought not the alliance of Princes, but married *John* to *Cornelia* of the Family of the *Alexandri*, and *Peter* to *Lucretia* of the Family of the *Tornabuoni*, and of his Grandchildren by *Peter*, he married *Bianca* to *William Pazzi*, and *Anne* to *Bernard Ruffelai*; and as to intrigues of State, the affairs of neighbouring Princes, and civil Government at home, none of his time were equal to him for intelligence, by which means only, in so great variety of Fortune, in so giddy a City, and such in-

constant

constant Citizens, he preserved himself in the Government for one and thirty years, for his Wisdom gave him foresight, and discerning inconveniences afar off, he either prevented them, or if they grew upon him, made such preparation they could not offend him; whereby he not only suppressed domestical and civil ambition, but prevailed over many Princes with such happy prudence and success, that who ever joined in league with him and his Countrey, became at least equal, if not superiour to their enemies, and who ever opposed them, lost either their time, money or estate; which the *Venetians* can sufficiently testifie, who when united with him against *Philip* had always the better, but disunited were first by *Philip* and afterwards by *Francis* oppressed and overcome; and when they joined with *Alfonso* against the Common-wealth of *Florence*, *Cosmo* by his sole credit reduced both *Naples* and *Venice* to such straits for want of money, that they were forced to accept what peace he pleased: and indeed all the difficulties *Cosmo* encountred with, both without and within the City had issues glorious to himself, and disgraceful to his enemies, so that civil discords always added to his Authority at home, and war without to his renown and reputation abroad, for to the Dominions of the Common-wealth he annexed *Borgo a Sancto Sepulchro*, *Montidoglio*, *Casentino* and *Valdibagna*. Thus by his virtue and fortune he oppressed his enemies,

mies, and advanced his friends. He was born in the year 1389 on the feast of S. Cosmo and Damian, the beginning of his life was full of troubles, as appears by his banishment, imprisonment and danger of death. After the ruine of Pope John with whom he went to the Council of Constance, he was forced to save his life by flying in disguise; but from forty years of age he lived very happily, so that not only those who adhered to him in publick administrations, but all they who managed his monies throughout Europe were partakers of his felicity, whereby many Families in Florence were raised to great riches, as the Tornabuoni, Benci, Portinari and Salseti, and indeed every one depending on his counsel and fortune enriched themselves, but though in building Churches, and distributing of Alms, and doing good Offices he was at a continual expence, yet he would oft-times lament to his friends, that he could never spend so much to the honour of God, but he still found himself in his books a debtor. He was but mean of stature, and brown of complexion, yet of a very venerable presence, not learned, but very eloquent and of excellent natural parts, officious to his friends, charitable to the poor, edifying in conversation, wary in counsel, speedy in execution, and in his speeches and replies witty, yet grave. In his first banishment Rinaldo sending to tell him that the Hen was set, he replied, That

she

she could hatch but ill so far out of her nest: and to some other Rebels, who told him they could not sleep, he said, he believed it since they had rob'd themselves of their rest, of Pope Pius perswading Princes to take Arms against the Turk, he said, an old man undertakes a young enterprize, To the Venetian Ambassadors who with those of King Alphonso came to Florence to make their complaints against the Republick, he shewed his bare head, and having asked them what colour it was off, they answered white, to which he replied, Ere long your Senators will have heads as white as mine: some few hours before his death, his wife asking him why he shut his eyes, to use them to it, replied he: some Citizens after his return from Banishment, telling him that he spoiled the City, and offended God by banishing so many honest men, he replied, better a City spoiled, than lost, and that two yards of shorn cloth made an honest man, and that Estates were not defended with Beads in mens hands: which sayings gave occasion to his enemies to asperse him, that he loved himself more than his Countrey, and this world more than the other: many other of his sayings might be recorded, which as unnecessary I omit. Cosimo was moreover a great lover and advancer of learned men, and therefore brought Argiropolo the Grecian, one of the learnedst men of those times to Florence, that he might instruct the Florentine youth in the Greek Tongue, and other

other sciences he was skill'd in, he entertained in his own house *Marsilius Ficinus* that second Father of the *Platonick* Philosophy, whom he intirely loved, and to the end he might with better conveniency apply himself to his study, and *Cosmo* have him always ready at hand, he gave him a dwelling house near his own Palace of *Carreggio*. This his Wisdom, these his Riches, this manner of Living, and this Fortune were the causes that in *Florence* he was both loved and feared by his Fellow-Citizens, and by the Princes not only of *Italy*, but of all *Europe* marvellously esteemed, leaving foundations to his Posterity that they might in virtue equal him, and in Fortune far excel him, and attain to as great Authority and Reputation as himself had enjoyed in *Florence*, not only in that City, but in all *Christendom*. However towards the latter end of his life he underwent some very sensible afflictions, for of his two sons *Peter* and *John*, the last in whom he placed all his confidence dyed, and the other was infirm, and unapt to manage either publick or private affairs; whereupon causing himself after his sons death to be carried about his house, he was heard sighing to say, *This house is too great for so small a Family*. His generous mind was likewise troubled, that he had not as he thought sufficiently enlarged the *Florentine* Dominions with some honourable conquest, and it grieved him the more, because he perceived himself to have been de-

ceived

ceived by *Francis Sforza*, who had promised him while he was yet Earl, that as soon as he had made himself Duke of *Milan*, he would win *Lucca* for the *Florentines*, but he failed him, for having got the Dukedom, his mind changed, and he thought it best to enjoy that Dominion in quiet, and therefore performed not his promise, either to *Cosmo* or any other, nor waged any wars but what were necessary for his own defence, which fretted *Cosmo* exceedingly that he should have taken so much pains, and been at so much charge to advance an ingrateful and perfidious man, he likewise found that the infirmities of his body made him incapable of following either publick or private affairs with that vigour and diligence he was wont, so that he beheld both one and the other go to ruine, the City spoiled by its own Citizens, and his estate wasted by his children and ministers, all these accidents disquieted him towards his latter end, yet he dyed full of Glory, and in the height of Renown both at home and abroad, all the Citizens, and all Christian Princes condoling his death with his son *Peter*. He was buried with great solemnity, the whole City attending his Herse to the Church of *S. Laurence*, where he was interred, and by publick command in Sculpture over his Tomb he was stiled **THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY**. In recording the Virtues and Actions of *Cosmo*, I have imitated those who write

the lives of Princes, and not those who write general Histories, let none admire at it, for having been so extraordinary a man, he deserves to be mentioned with extraordinary Honour. Whilest *Florence* and *Italy* were in this state and condition, *Lewis* King of *France* was assaulted with fierce and powerful war raised by his Barons, with the assistance of *Francis* Duke of *Britany*, and *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, which kept him so employed, that he could afford no assistance to *John* Duke of *Anjou* in his expedition against *Genoua* and the Kingdom, yet judging he stood in need of some ones help, the City of *Savona* remaining in the power of the *French*, he makes *Francis* Duke of *Milan* Lord of that City, without letting him know that if he pleased he might with his free lieve possess himself of *Genoua*, which *Francis* willingly hearkens to, and either by the reputation of the Kings friendship, or by the favour of the *Adorni* makes himself Lord of *Genoua*, and that he might not appear ingrateful to the King for his kindness, he sends into *France* his eldest son *Galeazzo* with fifteen hundred horse to his assistance. Thus *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* and *Francis Sforza* became the one Duke of *Lombardy* and Prince of *Genoua*, and the other King of all the Kingdom of *Naples*, and having contracted an alliance together, they begun to consult how they might fortifie themselves in their estates, so as they might live, and securely enjoy them, and after

Francis
Duke of
Milan be-
comes Lord
of *Genoua*.

after their deaths leave them peaceably to their Heirs; and upon the point they judged it necessary that the King should secure himself of those Barons, who in the wars with *John* of *Anjou* had fought against him, and that the Duke should endeavour to extirpate the *Bracceschi* his natural and implacable enemies, and who under *Jacob Piccinino* were grown into great reputation, for he was now the greatest Captain remaining in *Italy*, and having no settled Dominion, it was requisite for those who had Estates to stand upon their Guard, and especially the Duke who from example given by himself, judged he could neither securely enjoy his Dominions himself, nor leave them peaceably to his sons so long as *Jacob* lived; wherefore the King sought an accomodation with his Barons, and to assure himself of them, managed things so politickly that he had happy success in it, for the Princes who yet waged war with the King saw their manifest ruine, if they longer held out, and if they came to an agreement must be left at discretion, so that though at first they were somewhat doubtful, yet because men always strive to avoid certain mischiefs, it follows that Princes may the easier deceive those of lesser power, so these Princes seeing the manifest danger of the war, trusted to the Kings word, and yielding themselves into his hands, were afterwards by him in sundry wayes, and upon various occasions cut off, which so terrified *Jacob Piccinino*,

who then lay with his Forces at *Solmona*, that to secure himself, and take from the King all opportunities of oppressing him, by the mediation of his friends he treated a reconciliation with the Duke, who having made him such offers that he could not expect greater; *Jacob* throws himself into his hands, and accompanied only with one hundred Horse goes to *Milan* to present himself to Duke *Francis*. *Jacob* had a long time been a Soldier under his Father, and with his Brother first for Duke *Philip*, and afterwards for the people of *Milan*, so that by long converse he had gained many friends in that City, and a general goodwill, which his present condition increased, for the prosperous Fortune, and the present power of the *Sforzeschi* had begotten them envy, and the adversity and long absence of *Jacob* had created in the peoples minds compassion towards him, and a longing desire to see him, all which appeared at his coming, for few of the Nobles but went to meet him, & the streets where he passed were thronged with people desirous to see him, and the fame of his Arms was every where discoursed of, which Honours hastened his ruine, for they blew the coals of the Dukes jealousy, and inflamed his desire of getting rid of him, which the more covertly to do, he declared his pleasure to have the marriage solemnized with *Drusiana* his natural Daughter, to whom *Jacob* had been long since contracted, and then agrees with *Ferdinand*

dinand to entertain him as his Captain General with one hundred thousand Florins impress: after which conclusion *Jacob* with an Ambassadour from the Duke and his wife *Drusiana* goes to *Naples* where he was joyfully and honourably received, and for many days entertained with much feasting and jollity; but having asked lieve to go to *Solmona* where his Forces lay, he was by the King invited into the Castle, and dinner ended, together with *Francis* his son made prisoner, and shortly after put to death. Thus our Princes of *Italy* jealous of that virtue in others, they had not in themselves, strove to extirpate it, till having utterly rooted out all seeds of it, they exposed this Province to that ruine, which shortly wasted and destroyed it. Mean while Pope *Pius* having composed the affairs of *Lombardy*, seeing the time was proper for it, there being an universal peace, began to promote a war against the Turks, pursuing those rules and methods before set down by his predecessors, to which all Princes promised either money or men, and *Matthew* King of *Hungary*, and *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* offered to go in person, and were by the Pope made Generals of the Expedition; and so far the Pope proceeded, that he left *Rome* and went to *Ancona*, where he had ordered the general *Rendezvous*, the *Venetians* having promised Shipping to transport the Army into *Sclavonia*; soon after the Popes arrival at *Ancona* there

Pope Pius
promotes
an Expedition
against
the Turks.

assembled thither such multitudes of people, that all the provisions of that and the neighbouring Countrey would not suffice, but hunger began to oppress the Army, besides there wanted money to buy things necessary, and weapons to arm the naked, and *Matthieu* and *Charles* neither of them appeared, and the *Venetians* sent only one of their Captains with some Gallies, rather to show their Pomp, or to boast they had kept their faith, than to transport such an Army. Here the Pope being old and weak, in the heat of these troubles and disorders dyed, after whose death every one returned home. This Pope dead, in the year 1465 *Paul* the second a *Venetian* born, was elected to the Papacy: and to the end other Principalities of *Italy* might likewise change their Government, the year following dyed *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, after having been sixteen years Lord of that Dukedom, and *Galeazo* his son was declared Duke. The death of this Prince made the divisions of *Florence* increase, and sooner come to effect. After *Cosmo's* death his son *Peter* remaining Heir both of his Riches and Honours, called unto him *Diotisalvi Neroni* a man of great Authority and Reputation among the chiefest of the Citizens, and in whom *Cosmo* reposed so much trust, that at his death he ordained *Peter* to have recourse to him for advice in the management both of his private and publick affairs: *Peter* acquaints *Diotisalvi* with his fathers

Death of
Sforza Duke
of *Milan*.

fathers bequest, and the confidence he had in him; and that he might be obedient to his father as well dead as living, craves his counsel as well to the management of his estate, as to the Government of the City; and to begin with his own private affairs, he made all his Factors and Ministers give in unto him the state of their Accounts, to the end seeing the order and disorder of every thing, he might as his prudence should dictate, advise him; *Messer Diotisalvi* promised his utmost diligence; but having viewed and well examined all the Accounts, and finding in them great disorders; like a man that had more respect to his own ambition, than to the love of *Peter*, or gratitude to his father, he imagined that he might easily rob *Peter* of his Reputation, and cheat him of that inheritance and power his father had left him; to which purpose he comes to *Peter* with a counsel that seemed very just and reasonable; but under which his ruine lay concealed: he declared to him the disorder of his affairs, and how much ready money he must of necessity provide to uphold his Credit and Reputation in the State, telling him there was no honest way to remedy those disorders than by calling in the monies were owing to his father, as well by strangers as Citizens; for *Cosmo* to gain Followers in *Florence*, and Friends abroad was very liberal in lending his money, so that by that very means he became creditor to sums of

Conspiracy
against the
Medici.

no small importance: *Peter* thinks the counsel good and honest, willing to repair himself with his own, but no sooner did he cause these moneys to be demanded, but the Citizens resented it, as if he had not asked his own, but demanded what was theirs, reviling him as ingrateful and covetous, and without any respect railing against him; whereupon *Diotisalvi* seeing *Peter* by his advice fallen into this universal and popular disgrace, joined himself with *Luke Pitti*, *Agnolo Acciavolo* and *Nicholas Soderini*, determining to take from *Peter* both Reputation and Authority. These men were, by divers respects moved to this Design: *Luke* desired to succeed in *Cosmo's* stead, being already grown so great, that he scorned to be observant to *Peter*; *Diotisalvi* who knew *Luke* unfit to be the head of the Government, imagined if *Peter* were removed, the whole reputation might in a short time fall upon him; *Nicholas Soderini* was desirous that the City should live more at freedom, and the Magistrates govern without controul; *Messer Agnolo* bore a particular hate to the *Medici*, upon this account: *Rafael* his son had sometime before taken to wife *Alessandra* of the *Bardi* with a very great portion, she whether through her own peevishness or their malice, received very ill usage from her husband and father in Law; whereupon *Lorenzo Harione* her Kinsman, out of compassion to the young Lady, went one night with many armed men and

and rescued her out of *Agnolo's* house; the *Acciavoli* made complaint of this injury done them by the *Bardi*, the cause was referred to *Cosmo*, who gave sentence that the *Acciavoli* should restore *Alessandra* her portion, and then her return to her husband should be left at her own arbitrement; *Agnolo* thought *Cosmo* did not deal friendly with him in this sentence, but since he could not be revenged on him, he now determined to be revenged on his son: but how different soever the occasions were, these conspirators all declared one and the same intention, affirming they would have the City governed by the Magistrates, and not by counsels of a few. The hatred of *Peter*, and ill will towards him very much increased, by many Merchants becoming bankrupt, who laid all the fault upon *Peter*, his unexpected calling in his money, having thereby stretched their Credit, and to the great disgrace and prejudice of the City, forced them to fail; to which may be added his treating a marriage with *Clarice* of the Family of the *Orsini*, and his eldest son *Laurence*, which gave every one full scope to revile him, publicly venting abroad that he disdained to match his son with a *Florentine*, nor could contain himself longer as a private Citizen, and therefore prepared to usurp the principality, for he that scorns to have his fellow Citizens of his kindred, had a mind to make them his servants, and therefore 'twas unreasonable he should expect

pect them to be his friends. And now the leaders of this conspiracy concluded they had the victory in their hands, for the greatest part of the Citizens cheated with the name of Liberty, wherein those engaged against him had cloathed their design, adhered to them. These humours thus set a boiling in mens hearts, it was thought convenient by those who liked not these civil discords to endeavour by some new found feast or jollity to settle, or at least divert the minds of men, for generally the idle people are the instruments of all alterations. To remove this idleness a little out of the way, and turn mens minds upon other thoughts than that of the Government, the year being gone round since *Cosmo's* death they took occasion to give the City some divertisement, appointing two solemn Shows, as has been usual in other Cities; one was a representation of the three *Magi* following the Star of the Nativity from the East. which was done with so much Pomp and Magnificence, that in the contriving, ordering and acting it, it found the whole City near five months employment. The other was a Tournament where the choice youth of the City exercised their skill and valour against the most famous Cavaliers of *Italy*, and among the *Florentine* youth *Laurence* the eldest son of *Peter Medici* gained the most Honour, for not by favour, but by his own valour he won the richest prize. These Triumphs ended, the Citizens returned

turned to their former discontents, and every one with more eagerness than before urged his own opinion, from whence many differences and troubles arose, which by two accidents were mightily increased; one was that the Authority of the *Balia* was expired, and the other the death of *Francis Duke of Milan*, whose son *Galeazo* the new Duke, having sent Ambassadors to confirm the Articles made between his father and this City, which among other things concluded that there should be a yearly sum of money paid to the Duke. The leaders of the Faction averse to the *Medici*, took occasion from this demand, and publicly in the Councils opposed the consenting to it, alleadging that League was made with *Francis*, and not with *Galeazo*, so that by *Francis* his death, the obligation dyed, nor was there any reason to revive it, for that there was not in *Galeazo* that virtue had been in *Francis*, and by consequence they could not, nor ought not to expect those advantages from him, and though they got but little by *Francis*, from him they must look for less, but if any Citizen had a mind to entertain him to maintain his own private power, it was a thing opposite to civil order and the Liberty of the City: *Peter* on the other side urged that it was imprudence, out of avarice to lose so necessary a friend, and that nothing could conduce more to the security of this Commonwealth and all *Italy*, than a firm league with

Open division.

with the Duke, that the *Venetians* seeing them united, might not entertain any hopes, either through feigned friendship, or open war to oppress that Dukedom: for no sooner should they hear that the *Florentines* were alienated from him, but they would have their arms in their hands, and finding him young and raw in the Government, either by force or fraud subdue his Country, the consequences of which must needs be the ruine of *Florence*. These reasons were not accepted, and the enmities and heart-burnings began to appear, and of both factions several parties met every night, the friends of the *Medici* in the Monastery of the *Little Cross* or *Croceta*, and the Adversaries at *La Pieta*, who solicitous for *Peter's* ruine had made several Citizens subscribe themselves favourers of the design. And among other times, being one night met together, they held a particular Council about their manner of proceeding, and every one was willing and ready to abase the power of the *Medici*, but they differed in the way; those who were most temperate and modest, advised, that since the Authority of the *Balia* was expired, they should find means to oppose its being revived, and that done, it was their intention, that the Counsels and Magistrates should govern the City, whereby in a short time *Peter's* power would come to nothing, and with his loss of reputation in the Government, he would likewise lose his credit in Merchandise,

dise; for his Estate lay so, that if he were restrained from making use of publick monies, he must certainly be ruined, and then there would be no more danger of him, but the City without blood or banishment would have regained its Liberty, which every good Citizen ought to desire; but if they went about to act by force, infinite dangers must be hazarded, for whoever is falling, if he be thrust forward by others, will catch hold to support himself; besides, when nothing extraordinary is acted against him, he would have no occasion or pretence of arming himself, or engaging friends; or if he did, it would turn to his greater reproach, and breed suspicion in every man, thereby contributing to his own ruine, and giving others advantages to oppress him: others of the assembly disliked this delay, affirming time would prove his and not their friend, for if they consented to be satisfied with an ordinary proceeding, *Peter* run no hazard at all, and they a great one; for the Magistrates, though his enemies, would permit him to live in the City, and his friends, as it happened, in 58 would make him Prince: That indeed the preceding Counsel was good, but it was not wise, and therefore it was best utterly to ruine him, whilst the minds of men were incensed against him, and the means to effect it, was by arming themselves within, and entertaining in their pay the Marquis of *Ferrara* without, to prevent their being disarmed:

The Conspira-
cy a-
gainst Peter
Medici dis-
covered.

Nicholas So-
derini Gon-
faloniere.

disarmed: and then when there chanced a Senate for their purpose make sure work. Upon this they concluded, expecting the entrance of the next Senate, by which they meant to govern themselves. Among these Conspirators was *Nicholas Fidino*, who officiated as their scribe, he withdrawn by more certain hope, discovered all the debates of his enemies to *Peter*, and produced a list of the Conspirators and Subscribers. *Peter* was startled to see the number and quality of the Citizens engaged against him, and advising with his friends determined likewise to get subscriptions on his side, giving the charge of it to some of his most trusty friends, and such levity and inconstancy found he in the minds of the Citizens, that many subscribed in his favour, who had before subscribed against him. Whilst all things were in this perplexity, the time came for the new Election of the Supreme Magistracy, and *Nicholas Soderini* was chosen *Gonfaloniere* of Justice: It was a Miracle to see with what concourse, not only of worthy Citizens, but of all sorts of people he was accompanied to the Palace, and by the way they put a Garland of Olive upon his head, to signify that on him depended the Safety and Liberty of his Country. By this and many other experiences, it may appear how disadvantageous it is to enter into any Office or Power with the general voice and opinion of the world. For men not being able to perform what is expected

expected from them, the generality having formed in their imaginations things impossible to be executed; they fall from that height of their esteem to a depth of contempt and infamy, *Thomas* and *Nicholas Soderini* were brothers. *Nicholas* was more daring and courageous, but *Thomas* much the wiser, who preserving an intire friendship for *Peter Medici*, and knowing his brothers humour how he only desired the Liberty of the City, and that the State might be settled without damage to any one, persuaded him to a new imbursement, whereby the purses might be filled with such Citizens as loved to live in freedom, by which means the Government would according to his desires be confirmed and settled without any tumult or injury to any person. *Nicholas* readily gave ear to his brothers counsels, and employed himself in these vain imaginations, during the whole time of his Magistracy, and by his own friends, the heads of the Conspiracy, he was suffered so to consume it, for envy would not suffer them to let *Nicholas* have the honour of restoring the Government, hoping they might some other time, under some other *Gonfaloniere* effect it their own way. Thus *Nicholas* his Magistracy expired, who begun many things, but finished none, and went out with as much dishonour as he had entred with applause. This accident gave courage to *Peters* Faction, confirming his friends in their hopes of success, and making those who

who before stood Neuters adhere to him; so that the ballance seeming even on both sides, both parties for some months without any tumult temporised: Notwithstanding *Peter's* party every day gained strength, which his enemies growing sensible of, they consulted together, and imagined they might easily do that by force, which either they knew not how to do, or would no more attempt by the Power of the Magistrate; they therefore concluded to kill *Peter*, who now lay sick at *Carreggi*, and to that purpose sent to the Marquis of *Ferrara* to advance with his forces towards the City, and *Peter* once slain, they determined to run armed into the *Piazza*, and make the Senate establish such a Government as should be most to their liking; for though all the Lords were not their friends, yet they hoped to make those, who were not, give their consent for fear, *Messer Diotisalvi*, the better to dissemble his intention often visited *Peter*, reasoning with him about uniting the City, and giving him his advice. All these practices had been discovered to *Peter*, and besides *Messer Dominico Martegli* gave him intelligence how *Francisco Neroni*, brother to *Messer Diotisalvi*, had solicited him to be of their party, assuring him of certain victory and happy success. Whereupon *Peter* determined to be the first in arms, taking occasion from his enemies practices, with the Marquis of *Ferrara*. He pretended therefore to have received a Letter from *John Bentivoglio*,

Bentivoglio, Prince of *Bologna*, acquainting him that the Marquis of *Ferrara* was near the River *Albo* with his Forces, and publicly declared he was designed for *Florence*. And thus upon these advertisements *Peter* took Arms, and in the midst of a great multitude of armed men comes into *Florence*: whereupon all the followers of his party likewise armed themselves, and their adversaries did the like, but not in so good order as *Peter's* party; for these were prepared, and had their instructions what to do: but the other had no warning at all of it. *Messer Diotisalvi's* house standing near *Peter's*, he thought himself not secure there, and therefore ran up and down, sometimes to the Palace, to perswade the Lords to make *Peter* lay down his Arms, sometimes to find out *Luke* to keep him firm to their party. But he that shewed most courage was *Nicholas Soderini*; who taking Arms, was followed by all the common people of his quarter; and going to *Messer Luke's* house encouraged him to mount on horse-back, and go into the *Piazza* in favour of the Lords, who were on their side, and where doubtless the victory would be certain, and not stay in his house, either to be basely oppressed by his armed enemies, or disgracefully deceived by the unarmed, otherwise he would come to repent it when it was too late; for now, if he desired War with the ruine of *Peter*, he might easily have it; or if he would have peace, it was much

Luke Pitti
sides with
Peter.

better to be in a condition to give than receive terms. These words nothing moved *Luke Pitti*, whose resolution was taken, and his mind quite turned by the fair promises, new alliances, and new conditions made him by *Peter*; for he had already married his Niece to *John Tornabuoni*; inasmuch, that he exhorted *Nicholas*, likewise to lay down his Arms, and return to his house, for all he aimed at, was that the City should be governed by Magistrates, and so it would be, and every man would lay down their Arms; and the Senate, in which they had the greater party, would be Judge of their differences. *Nicholas* therefore, seeing he could not otherwise persuade him, returned to his house, having first told him, *I cannot alone establish the welfare of my City, but I can prognosticate the mischiefs must of necessity befall it. This course which you take will be the cause of loss of Liberty to our Country, of honour to your self, of wealth and estate, and of their Country it self to others.* The Senate in this Tumult had shut the Palace gates, and with all the Magistrates kept themselves within, not seeming to favour either party. The Citizens (and especially those who had sided with *Luke*) seeing *Peter* in Arms, and the adversaries disarmed, began to bethink themselves not to offend or oppose *Peter*, but how best to become his friends: Whereupon the prime Leaders of the Faction went into the Palace, and in the presence of the Senate, debated many things about the

the present State of the City, and the means of reconciling all differences; and since *Peter*, because of his weakness, could not come to them, they all with one accord determined to go to his House, excepting only *Nicholas Soderini*, who having first recommended his children and affairs to his brother *Thomas*, retired to his Country-House, there to attend the event of these things, accounting himself unfortunate, and his Country miserable. The other Citizens being come before *Peter*, one appointed to speak for the rest, "complained of the Tumults raised in the City, declaring them to be in the fault, who had first taken up arms, and not knowing what *Peter* (who was the first that had done it) desired, they were come to know his pleasure, and if it appeared to be for the good of the City, they were ready to second him: To which *Peter* replied: "That not he who first took up Arms was the cause of these Commotions, but those who administered the occasion of their taking up: and if they would well consider in what manner they had proceeded against him, they would find no cause of wonder, that for his own safety he had acted as he had done; for then they would perceive, that their nocturnal conventions, their subscriptions, their conspiracies to take from him the City and his life, made him arm. But since with these arms he had not moved from his house, it was evidence enough

The complaint of the
Citizens to
Peter Medici.

Peter's Answer.

"that his whole design was to defend him-
 "self, and not offend others. Nor had he
 "any other aim, or desired any thing else
 "but his own security and quiet; nor had
 "ever given the least occasion to make
 "them believe he sought for more: for
 "since the authority of the *Balia* was ex-
 "pired, he had not contrived by any ex-
 "traordinary way to revive it, and was
 "very well satisfied the Magistrates should
 "govern the City, whilst they were con-
 "tent with it; for they ought to remem-
 "ber that *Cosmo* and his Children know
 "how to live honourably in *Florence*, both
 "with and without the *Balia*, and that in
 "the year 1458, 'twas not by his house, but
 "by themselves renewed. And if now they
 "had no desire to have it again established,
 "neither had he: but this compliance with
 "them, was not enough, for he perceived
 "they believed they could not live in *Flo-*
 "*rence*, whilst he was in it. A thing he
 "never could have so much as thought or
 "believed, that his Fathers friends and his
 "should fear to live in *Florence* with him,
 "having never given the least cause to be
 "thought other than a quiet and peaceable
 "man. Then addressing his Speech to
 "*Messer Diotisalvi*, and his brethren there pre-
 "sent, he reproached them in words grave,
 "but full of anger, with the kindneses they
 "had received from his Father, the trust he
 "reposed in them, and their barbarous ingra-
 "titude. And his words had such force and
 "effect,

effect that had not *Peter* prevented some of
 the standers by, they had been knock'd
 down: In conclusion *Peter* assured them
 he was ready to approve what ever they or
 the Senate should determine, and for his
 part desired nothing more, but to live quiet
 and secure. After this many things were
 debated, but nothing concluded, unless in
 general terms, that it was necessary the
 City should be reformed, and new orders
 made in the State. *Bernardo Lotti* sate at
 this time *Gonfaloniere* of Justice, a man not
 trusty to *Peter*, therefore he thought it not
 convenient to attempt any thing in his time;
 which delay he thought of little impor-
 tance to his affairs, his Magistracy being al-
 most expired; but at the election of the
 Lords, who were to sit for *September* and
October in the year 1464, *Robert Lioni* was
 elected chief Magistrate, who as soon as he
 entered upon his office (all things else being
 prepared) summoned the people into the
Piazza, and created a new *Balia* all of *Pe-*
ters party, who soon after elected Magi-
 strates according to the humour of the
 new Government, which so terrified the
 heads of the adverse faction, that *Messer*
Agnolo Acciavoli fled to *Naples*, and *Messer*
Diotisalvi Neroni and *Nicholas Soderini* to
Venice, *Messer Luke Pitti* staid in *Florence*,
 confiding in the promises made him by *Pe-*
ter and his new alliance. Those which fled
 were declared Rebels, and all the Family of
 the *Neroni* dispersed, and *Messer John Ne-*
roni,

A new *Balia*
 created of
 the *Medici*
 Faction

1464.

The Fall of
Luke Pitti.

roni, then Archbishop of Florence, to avoid a worse mischief chose a voluntary exile at Rome: many other Citizens who soon after went away, were confined to sundry places: nor did this suffice, but a publick procession was ordained, to return thanks to God for the preservation of the State, and the reuniting of the City. In the solemnizing which, many Citizens were taken and tormented, and some of them afterwards put to death, and others banished; but in all this change of affairs nothing was more remarkable or exemplary, than the fall of Luke Pitti, who in one and the same instant felt the difference between victory and loss, honour and dishonour. His house was now a perpetual solitude, which was wont to be thronged with the numerous concourse of Clients; his relations were afraid not only of accompanying him, but even of saluting him in the streets; for some of them had been deprived of their Offices, some of their Estates, and all were threatened the like usage: those stately Fabricks he had begun, were deserted by the workmen; the Flatteries he was used to hear, were turned into revilings, and his honour into reproach, and many who to obtain his grace and favour had made him presents of value, now redemanded them as things lent, and those who used to exalt him to the skies, publicly scandalized him as a violent and Ingrateful man: so that he now too late indeed repented his not giving credit

credit to Nicholas Soderini, wishing he had dyed an honourable Death. Those who were banished, studied several ways how they might be restored to that City they had lost: but Messer Agnolo Acciavolo, before he would attempt any innovation, thought best to make trial how he stood with Peter, and whether there was any hopes of reconciliation, and to that end wrote him the following Letter. *I cannot but laugh at the sports of Fortune, and how she takes delight to make enemies friends; and friends enemies: you may remember in your fathers banishment (more concerned for his injury, than my own danger) I lost my Country, and had like to have lost my life; nor was I ever wanting while Cosmo lived to honour and favour your house, nor since his death had ever any design to offend you; 'tis true, your sickly constitution, and the tender years of your children, created those fears in me, made me conceive the Government ought to be put in such a method, that after your death our Country might not be ruined: upon which consideration, what I acted was done, not against you, but for the good of my Countrey; which, if it be a fault, deserves both for my good intention-sake, and my former good deeds to be cancelled: nor can I believe (since your Family has for so long a time found me so faithful) but I may from you find compassion, and that all my defects will not for one fault alone be now blot-
ted out. Peter having received this Letter, thus returned his Answer; Your laughing*

The Letter
of Agnolo
Acciavoli
to Peter Me-
dici.

Peter Me-
dici his An-
swer.

there, occasions my not weeping here; for if you return to Florence, I must go weep at Naples: I confess you bore some good will to my father, but you may as well confess you have been recompensed for it, so that your obligation is so much greater than ours, as deeds are more esteemable than words: since then for your good deeds you have been rewarded, why should you wonder if for your evil you be justly punished? Nor is the love of your Countrey to be allowed as an excuse, for no man living will believe this City to have been less beloved, or cherished by the Medici, than the Acciavoli: live therefore there in disgrace, since you know not how to live here with Honour. Whereupon Messer Agnolo despairing of ever procuring his pardon, comes to Rome, and confederates himself with the Archbishop and other Exiles, endeavouring by all bitter ways they could imagine, to blast the credit of the Factory of the Medici residing in Rome; which Peter could hardly prevent, yet by the assistance of his friends, their devices were defeated; on the other side Messer Diotisalvi and Nicholas Soderini sought with all industry imaginable to incense the Venetians against their Countrey, supposing that if Florence were assaulted from abroad, the Government being new, and generally hated, they would not be able to support it. There lived in these times in Ferrara John Francisco, the son of Messer Palla Strozzi, who in the change of Government in 1438 was with his father driven out

Diotisalvi
and Nicholas
Soderini
stir up the
Venetians a-
gainst Flo-
rence.

out of Florence. These new Rebels declared to John Francisco how easily they might be restored to their Countrey, if the Venetians would undertake a war, which they believed they would be ready to do, if they could contrive any way how to contribute to part of the expence, or otherwise they doubted it. John Francisco, who was desirous to be revenged of the injuries he had received, gave easie ear to their counsels, and promised to be assistant in the attempt with his whole estate; "Whereupon they went all to the Duke, "lamenting their exile, and protesting they "were driven out for no other crime, but "endeavouring that their Countrey should "live according to its Laws, and that the "Magistrates, and not a few Citizens only, "should be honoured and respected; where- "upon Peter de Medici and his Followers, "accustomed to live tyrannically, had de- "ceitfully taken Arms, deceitfully made "them lay down theirs, and afterwards as "deceitfully driven them from their Coun- "treys; and not content therewith, but "they had made Devotion to God a pre- "tence and colour to oppress others, who "under their faith given them still remain- "ed in the City; for in the midst of those "publick and sacred Ceremonies, and so- "lemn supplications (that they might "make God a partaker in their treasons) "they had imprisoned and put to death "many Citizens, an example of great im-
piety

" piety and horror; to revenge this, they
 " knew not where better to have recourse,
 " than to that Senate which enjoying its
 " Liberty, ought to have compassion of
 " those which had lost theirs. They there-
 " fore begg'd the assistance of Free-men a-
 " gainst Tyrants, of good men against the
 " wicked, remembering them how the Fa-
 " mily of the *Medici* had been the cause
 " of their losing the Dominion of *Lombar-*
 " *dy*, who in contradiction of the other
 " Citizens had favoured and supported Earl
 " *Francis* against their Senate; so that if the
 " justice of their cause could not move
 " them, they ought to be stirred up by a
 " just hatred and desire of revenge for their
 " own injuries. These last words moved
 the whole Senate, and they determined that
Bartholomew Coglione their General should
 invade the *Florentine* Territories, who with
 all speed drew together the Army, and
 with him joined *Hercules d'Este* sent from
Borso Duke of *Ferrara*. They at their first
 entrance (the *Florentines* not being yet in
 order) burnt the Burrough of *Decadala*,
 and made some spoil in the adjacent Coun-
 trey: but the *Florentines* (after they had
 driven out the enemies of the *Medici*) had
 entered into a new League with King *Fer-*
dinand, and *Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan*, and
 entertained for their General *Frederick* Earl
 of *Urbino*; so that having such good Friends,
 they valued their enemies the less: for *Fer-*
dinand sent his eldest son *Alphonso*, and *Ga-*
leazzo

The Veneti-
 ans and
 Duke of
Ferrara
 war with
Florence.

Stroz came in person, each with conve-
 nient Forces, and all rendezvoused at *Ca-*
strazzo a Castle of the *Florentines*, seated
 at the foot of the *Alps*, between *Tuscany*
 and *Romagna*: mean while the enemies
 were retreated towards *Imola*, so according
 to the custom of those times, some light
 skirmishes happened, but no general assault
 was made, no towns besieged, nor shewed
 they any disposition of engaging each o-
 ther; but lying, lazing in their Tents, with
 abominable cowardize managed the war.
 This tediousness much displeased the *Flo-*
rentines, who beheld themselves oppressed
 with a war in which they spent much, and
 could hope to gain but little; and the Ma-
 gistrates blamed those they had appointed
 Commissioners of the War, who gave them
 an account that Duke *Galeazzo* was in the
 fault, for he having the greatest Authority,
 and but slender Experience, knew not how
 to take advantages, nor would be ruled by
 those that did, and that it was impossible,
 so long as he staid in the Army, that any
 thing should be undertaken to their Ho-
 nour or profit. Whereupon the *Floren-*
tines represented to the Duke. " That it
 " did much redound to their credit and re-
 " putation, that he was personally come
 " to assist them, for his presence only was
 " enough to terrifie their enemies, yet they
 " valued the safety of his person and Do-
 " minion above their own advantage; for
 " whilst he was in safety, they hoped for
 " all

“ all prosperous success, but if he should
 “ fail, they had reason to fear the worst of
 “ adversities. They were therefore of o-
 “ pinion it was not very secure for him to
 “ be long absent from *Milan*, being new-
 “ ly entred into the Government, and hav-
 “ ing many powerful enemies he ought to
 “ be jealous of, who whilst he was away
 “ might contrive many mischiefs against
 “ him; wherefore they advised him to re-
 “ turn to his Countrey, leaving some part
 “ of his Forces for their defence. The
 counsel pleased *Galeazo* well, and without
 farther consideration he returned to *Milan*.
 This impediment thus removed, the *Floren-
 tine* Captains to shew he was indeed the true
 occasion of the former neglect, made their
 approaches to the enemy, so that they came
 to a set Battle, which continued half the
 day, neither party giving ground to the o-
 ther, yet there was not one slain, only some
 few horses wounded, and some prisoners
 taken on both sides: the winter now ap-
 proached, and the season wherein Armies
 use to draw into quarters; wherefore *Messer
 Bartholomew* retreats towards *Ravenna*, and
 the *Florentine* Forces into *Tuscany*, and those
 of the King and Duke home to their own
 Countries. But since by this assault there
 had happened no commotion in *Florence*, as
 the *Florentine* Rebels had promised there
 would, the Soldiers beginning to want their
 pay, a peace was treated, and after very
 few debates concluded; whereupon the
Florentine

A famous
Battle.

Peace con-
cluded.

Florentine Rebels, lost to all hope, departed
 several ways, *Messer Diotisalvi* went to *Fer-
 rara*, where he was by Duke *Borso* received,
 and kindly entertained; *Nicholas Soderini*
 retired to *Ravenna*, where with a small pen-
 sion allowed him by the *Venetians*, he grew
 old and dyed: he was accounted an honest
 and valiant man, but in resolving upon any
 thing doubtful and slow, which made him
 when he was *Gonfaloniere* lose the oppor-
 tunity of overcoming, and afterwards
 when he was a private man strive to regain
 it, and could not. Peace concluded, those
 Citizens that remained superiour in *Florence*,
 could not perswade themselves to have o-
 vercome, if they did not with all manner
 of injuries afflict not only their enemies,
 but those they suspected averse to their par-
 ty; wherefore they perswaded *Bardo Alto-
 viti* then *Gonfaloniere* of Justice, to remove
 many Citizens from their offices, and to
 banish others, which increased their power,
 and terrified their adversaries, and the
 power they had got they exercised without
 any moderation, as if God and fortune
 had given them the City for a prey; of
 which Peter knew but little, and that lit-
 tle he did could not remedy, by reason of
 the infirmity of his body: for the Gout so
 tormented him, that he could use no mem-
 ber but his tongue, nor apply any other
 remedy to their disorders but good ad-
 monishments, intreating them to live more
 civilly, and rather possess their Countrey
 with

Marriage of
Lorenzo
Medici with
Clarice Or-
sini.

with safety, than be driven out with its destruction; and to divert the City principally, he determined on that magnificent solemnization of the marriage between his son *Lorenzo*, and *Clarice* of the Family of the *Orsini*; which wedding was performed with all that pomp and splendor became the magnificence of so great a man, and many days were spent in feasting, Balls and Masques; and to compleat the greatness of the Family, two military Shows were exhibited to the people, one the representation of a Battle on Horse-back, and the other the storming of a Town, in both which all things were marshalled in excellent order, and performed with admirable Dexterity. Whilest these things were doing in *Florence*, the rest of *Italy* lived likewise in quiet, but in great jealousies of the *Turks* greatness, who pursued his victories against the Christians, and had now taken *Negroponte*, to the infamy and dishonour of the Christian name. In these times dyed *Borso Marquis* of *Ferrara*, to whom succeeded *Hercules* his son; likewise dyed *Gismonda* of *Rimini* profest enemy to the Church; and *Robert* his son remained Heir to his Estates, who afterwards gained the reputation of being one of the prime Captains of *Italy*. There also dyed *Pope Paul*, and to him succeeded *Sixtus* the Fourth, called before his creation *Francis* of *Savona*, a man of base and most vile condition; yet for his appearances of Vertue, made first General of the Order

Pope Sixtus
the Fourth

Order of *S. Francis*, and afterwards *Cardinal*. This Pope was the first that began openly to show what a Pope could do, and how many things before called errors might be covered under the Pontifical Authority. There were of his Family *Peter* and *Girolamo*, who as every one believed were his sons, yet he palliated that scandal under the more civil name of Nephews: *Peter* because he was a Friar, he raised to the Dignity of *Cardinal*, with the title of *S. Sisto*; to *Girolamo* he gave the City of *Furli*, taking it from *Antonio Ordelaffi*, whose Ancestors had a long time been Princes of that City: yet this strange and ambitious way of proceeding, made the Princes of *Italy* pay him the more esteem, and every one sought his alliance; so that the Duke of *Milan* gave *Catherine* his natural daughter to *Girolamo* for wife, and with her the City of *Imola* (which he had taken from *Taddeo Alidossi*) in Dower; between this Duke likewise and King *Ferdinand*, an alliance was likewise contracted, for *Elizabella* daughter to *Alphonso* the Kings eldest son, was married to *John Galeazo* eldest son to the Duke. *Italy* lived now in a profound quiet, and the only care of these Princes was to have a watch one upon another, and by new Alliances, Leagues and Friendships to secure themselves; yet in so great a calm of peace *Florence* was still in a storm, tossed and tormented by its own Citizens, and *Peter* violently afflicted with his distemper, could not stand at Helm, nor make any provision

Peter de Medici his
speech to
the Florentines.

provision against the violent gusts of their ambition; yet to disburthen his own Conscience, and make them if he could ashamed of their courses, he called before him the chief Florentines, and thus reproved and advised them: *I once never believed I should have seen the time that the manners and behaviour of my Friends should make me rather love and desire the prosperity of my enemies; and that my victory had proved a defeat; for I thought I had confederated with men, whose Appetite might have been bounded, and who would have been content, if not with living quiet and secure themselves, yet at least with being revenged on their enemies: but now I see how strangely I am deceived, and how ignorant I was of the natural Ambition of men in general, and much more of yours; for you are not content to be Princes in so mighty a City, to share among a few of you those Honours, Dignities and Profits were wont to be in common to the whole body, and to have the estates of your enemies divided amongst you; nor are you satisfied to load others with all publick charges, whilst your selves, freed from all payments, enjoy the profit, but to your advantages you must adde the Tyranny of afflicting them with all manner of injuries: you rob your neighbours of their Goods, you sell Justice, and flie from civil Judgment, oppressing the innocent, and promoting the insolent; nor do I believe there is in all Italy so many examples of violence and injustice, as in this City: why should we take life from our Countrey*

Countrey that has given a being to us? or why destroy those that have made us victorious? why disgrace and scorn those have given us Honours? I promise you by the faith which all honest men ought to give and receive, if you continue to behave your selves so, that I be forced to repent that I was victorious, I shall carry my self in that manner you shall likewise repent of your abuse of the Victory. Those Citizens returned an Answer suitable and agreeable to the occasion, but reclaimed not themselves from their violence and oppression: whereupon Peter privately caused Messer Agnolo Acciavoli to come to Caffagivolo, and had a long discourse with him about the State of the City, nor is it to be doubted but (had not death prevented him) he had recalled all the banished to curb the insolence of those that were within, but death put a stop to these his honest intentions, for grievously afflicted with diseases of body, and torments of mind, he dyed in the three and fiftieth year of his age, whose worth and virtue could never be truly known to his Countrey, because most of his time he lived accompanied by his father, and those few years he outlived him, were consumed in civil discords, and infirmity of body: Peter was buried near his father in the Church of S. Laurence, and his Funeral was solemnized with all the pomp becoming so great a Citizen. He left behind him two sons Lorenzo and Guilian, who though they gave great hopes

Death of Peter de Medici

Thomas Soderini the most principal Citizen.

they would prove beneficial & serviceable to their Countrey, yet their youth made all men doubtful. Among other principal men of State in Florence, and who much excelled all the rest was *Thomas Soderini*, whose wisdom & Authority was not only revered in Florence, but by all the Princes of Italy, on him after *Peters* death did the whole City cast their eyes, & many Citizens visited & many Princes complimented him as the chief man of the State, but he being prudent, & having a fore-sight of his own fortune, and that of the Family of the *Medici*, answered none of the Princes Letters, & told the Citizens that not to his, but to the house of the *Medici* they ought to pay their visits: And to perfect by deeds what he had perswaded in words, he assembled all the prime Noble Families in the convent of *S. Antonio*, whither he likewise caused *Lorenzo* and *Julian Medici* to come, & after a long and grave Oration of the present State of that City, of all Italy, and of the humours of Princes, concluding, that if they desired the union and peace of Florence, and to secure it from civil dissention & foreign wars it was of all things most necessary they should honour those two young men, and maintain the reputation of their house, for men seldom repine to submit to things they are accustomed too, but new Lords as they are easily set up, are easily thrown down, and it was ever more facile to maintain that power, which by long continuance had outworn envy, than erect a new, which all men

men will be watching opportunities to oppress. After *Messer Thomaso*, spoke *Lorenzo*, and notwithstanding his youth, pleaded with so much Gravity, Prudence and Modesty, that he put all men in hopes he would prove, what he afterwards did; and before they departed that place, those Citizens swore to cherish them as their children, and they to own them as their fathers; upon which conclusion *Lorenzo* and *Giulian* were honoured as Princes of the City, and they again never declined *Soderini's* counsel. And thus living at rest, both at home and abroad, and no appearance of war to disturb the publick quiet, an unlooked for tumult happened as a presage of future troubles. Among the Families ruined by the faction of *Luke Pitti*, was that of the *Nardi*; for *Sylvester* and his brother, heads of that Family were first banished, and afterwards in that war, moved by *Bartholomew Coglione* declared Rebels, among whom was *Bernard* brother of *Sylvester*; a stout and active young man: he by reason of his poverty, less able to support banishment; and by reason of the conclusion of the peace, seeing no hopes of return, determined to attempt something, which might occasion the renewing of the war; for oftentimes of weak beginnings, great effects ensue, provided men are more diligent in the prosecution, than the beginning of an enterprise. *Bernard* had great acquaintance in *Frato*, and more in the

Conspiracy of the *Nardi*.

Countrey of *Pistoia*, especially with the house of the *Palandri*, a Family though bred in the Countrey, yet very numerous, and those like the other *Pistoiesi*, nurs'd in Arms & Blood; he very well knew they were discontented, having been in some differences of theirs a little severely treated by the *Florentine* Magistrates, and besides he was well vers'd in the humour of the *Pratesi*, who believed themselves governed with too much avarice and pride, and had particular knowledge of some mens aversion to the State: all which things gave him hopes he might kindle a fire in *Tuscany*, by stirring up *Prato* to Rebellion, to which so much fuel would soon be added, that it would be found a hard matter to quench it. These his thoughts he communicates to *Messer Diotisalvi*, asking him, that supposing his design on *Prato* succeeded, what assistance he might by his means expect from other Princes; the undertaking to Mr. *Diotisalvi* seemed very dangerous, and almost impossible to effect; yet seeing he might now at the hazard of others, make a new tryal of his fortune, he encouraged him to proceed, promising him certain assistance from *Ferrara* and *Bolonia*, if he so far succeeded as to defend *Prato* but fifteen days. *Bernardo* by these promises heightened with hopes of happy success, privately conveys himself to *Prato*, and communicates the matter to several, whom he finds readily disposed to it; of the like temper he finds the Family of the *Palandri*, and having agreed upon the time and manner

manner of execution, they sent advice of all to *Messer Diotisalvi*. *Cesar Petrucci* was at this time *Podesta* of *Prato* for the *Florentines*. Those Governours of the town have an usual custom to keep themselves the keys of the Gates, and when any of the City (especially in unsuspected times) comes by night to desire to go out, or to have any let in, he sends the Keys. *Bernardo* who knew this custom comes a little before day, together with the *Palandri*, and about a hundred armed men, and presents himself before the Gate that leads to *Pistoia*, and those within who knew of the conspiracy, were likewise ready armed, one of whom went to the *Podesta* to desire the Keys, feigning there was a Townsman desired entrance; the *Podesta* who could not have the least suspicion of any such accident, sends one of his servants with them, from whom before he was far from the Palace, the Keys were taken by the conspirators, the Gates opened, and *Peter* and his armed followers let in, and being all now together, they again divided into two bodies, one of which led by *Sylvester a Pratese* surpris'd the Cittadel, and *Bernardo* with the other seized the Palace, committing *Cesar* with all his Family to the custody of some of his followers, then they set up their cry throughout all the Town, proclaiming *Liberty, Liberty*. Day now began to appear, and at the noise, many of the people ran into the Market place; and hearing how the Cittadel and Palace was

surprised, and the *Podesta* with his Family imprisoned, they stood amazed how this accident should happen. The eight Citizens, to whom the administration of affairs is there committed, assembled in their Palace to consult what was best to be done: Whilst *Bernardo* and his company having marched up and down the Town, and getting none to follow them, hearing the eight were assembled came to them, and told them the reason of his enterprise, was to free them and their Country from servitude, and how much glory they would gain, if taking arms they accompanied him in so brave an attempt, by which they would gain perpetual quiet and eternal fame, putting them in mind of their ancient liberty and present condition, declaring what sure assistance they would have, if but for a few days they held out, affirming he had a party in Florence, who would shew themselves as soon as they had intelligence that Town would unanimously follow him. The eight not moved at his words, replied, "That they knew not whether Florence lived in Liberty or Bondage, as a thing they were not concerned to enquire into, but this they knew, they would never desire any other Liberty than to obey those Magistrates that governed Florence, from whom they had received no injury to oblige them to take arms against them; wherefore they advised him to release the *Podesta*, and march as fast as he could with

with his people out of the Town, thereby with speed freeing himself from that danger, whereinto he had unadvisedly thrown himself. *Bernardo* not at all daunted, with these words resolved to try if threats would move the *Pratesi*, whom he could not move with intreaties, and to terrifie them he thought the best way to put the *Podesta* to death, whom taking out of prison, he commanded to be hanged at the Palace Windows. *Cesar* was brought almost to the window with the halter about his neck, when he saw *Bernardo*, who commanded his death, to whom turning about he said. *Bernardo then puttest me to death, believing then to be followed by the Pratesi, but thou'lt find the quite contrary, for the Reverence these people bear to the governours, sent them from the Florentines is so great, that when they see this injury done to me, they will conceive such a hatred against thee, as will procure thy ruine, for not my death, but my life may be the occasion of victory to thee, for if I command them to fulfill your pleasure, possibly they may do it, and by my following your directions, you may perhaps accomplish your design. Bernardo, who had not now much choice to make thought this counsel very reasonable, and therefore orders him to go to the window, and command the people to yield him obedience, which when *Cesar* had done, he was sent back into custody. The weakness of the Conspirators was by this time discovered, and many Florentines who*

inhabited the Town, had gathered themselves together, among whom was *Messer George Ginori*, a Knight of *Rhodes*, he was the first made any opposition, and assaulted *Bernardo*, who was running up and down the Market-place, sometimes intreating, and sometimes threatening, if they did not obey and follow him: but *Messer George* and his party charging him, he was wounded and taken; which done, it was an easie matter to release the *Podesta*, and overcome the rest; who being but few, were most of them taken or slain. Mean while the news of this accident was brought to *Florence*, and made so much more than the truth, that the first Relations told, that *Prato* was taken, the *Podesta* with his Family all slain, and the Town full of enemies; *Pistoia* in arms, and many of its Citizens in this Conspiracie, whereupon the Palace was immediately full of Citizens, who came to consult with the Senate. There happened to be in *Florence* *Robert of San Severino*, accounted a very able Leader, him they determined to send with as many forces as could on such a sudden be got together to march towards the Town, and give them a particular account of the matter, applying such remedies, as in his judgement should seem meet. *Robert* had gone little farther than the Castle of *Campi*, but he was met by a Messenger sent from *Cesar* to signifie that *Bernardo* was taken, his consorts slain or fled, and the Tumult quieted; whereupon he returned

returned to *Florence*, whither soon after *Bernardo* was brought, whom the Magistrates strictly examining to know the full Truth of the design, and finding it a very weak Plot, asked him why he would attempt so unlikely a thing, to which he made answer, he did it, because he had rather dye in *Florence* than live in exile, and was desirous his death might be accompanied with something memorable. This Tumult dead as soon as it was born, the Citizens returned to their accustomed manner of living, thinking they might without any moderation or respect enjoy that Government they had themselves settled and established: whence arose here those disorders, which like insects are usually generated from peace and idleness, for the youth grew more extravagant, than they were wont in their apparel, feasting, and other lascivious Vanities, setting no bounds to their expences, but being wasteful and idle, consumed their time and estates in play and women, and all their study was who drest finest, who had the richest garnitures, and who had most of the words in fashion, or could talk after the prettiest and newest method, but that man that gave the sharpest, and most biting reparties, he was the wit of the times. These blessed Customs, and weighty endowments were by the Courtiers of *Milan* much added to and refined, for that Duke with his Dutchess and whole Court to perform a vow (as it was given out) were come to
Florence

The Duke of
Milan in
Florence.

Florence; where he was received with all that pomp and splendor, requisite for the entertainment of so great a Prince, and so true a friend to the City: And now there was one thing to be seen, which our City had never beheld before; for it being the holy time of *Lent*, during which the Church commands abstinence from flesh, his Court without any respect either to God or the Church, would feed on nothing else. There were many publick spectacles exhibited for his Honour, among the rest in the Church of *Sancto Spirito*, they represented the Holy Ghost descending upon the Apostles; and many fires being used in such solemnities, that Church by some or other took fire, and was quite burnt down, which most lookt upon, as an evident sign of Gods anger against us, for our Sins and Follies. In short, if the Duke of *Milan* found the City of *Florence* full of Curtizans, Delicacies, Debaucheries and Customs quite opposite to well ordered Civility, he left it much more so; whereupon good Citizens though it requisite to bridle these Vanities, and by a Law restrain the excessive expences in apparel, feasting and burials. In the midst of this profound peace happened a new and unlookt for Tumult in *Tuscany*. There was found in the Country of *Volterra* by some of the Citizens of that place a Mine of Allum, who knowing what advantages were to be made of it, that they might be assisted with money, and defend-

Tumults in
Volterra.

ed with authority, they addressed themselves to some Citizens of *Florence* to be partners with them. This in the beginning (as generally all new undertakings are) was by the people of *Volterra* slighted, but at length when they saw what profit others made of them, they strove too late and in vain to snatch out of their hands, what at first they might with ease have had; they began first in their Councils to argue the matter, affirming it was not convenient that a commodity found in publick grounds should be converted to private use. They sent thereupon their Ambassadors to *Florence*, and the matter was referred to a Committee of Citizens, who either bribed, or because 'twas indeed their judgement, reported, That the people of *Volterra* were unjust in desiring to deprive other Citizens of the fruits of their pains and industry; and that those Allums belonged to the private persons, and not to them, however it was convenient they should yearly pay a sum of money to the City, as an acknowledgement of their Superiority: This sentence instead of extinguishing, inflamed the discontents and tumults in *Volterra*, and nothing else, not only in their Councils, but through the whole City was discursed of; the People requiring what was unjustly taken from them might be restored, and the private possessors striving to keep, what they had been at charge and pains to set on work, and by sentence of the *Florentines* was confirmed

ed to them. Infomuch, that in these disputes *Pecorino*, a Citizen of quality was killed, and after him many others of his party, and their houses sackt and burnt, and with much ado were the people in this fury restrained from killing the *Florentine* Governors: But this first Tumult past, they determined ere they proceeded farther to send Ambassadors to *Florence*, who informed the Senate, if they would maintain their ancient Rights and Charters, they would continue in their ancient obedience. The answer was long debated. *Messer Thomas Soderini* was of opinion, it was convenient to accept of the *Volterrans* submission on what terms soever, it being dangerous to raise a flame so near, that it may burn our own houses, for he was fearful how the Pope was inclined, knew the King to be potent, and was confident neither in the Venetians nor Dukes friendship, because he could not tell how much fidelity might be found in the one, nor how little courage in the other, remembering them of that known proverb, *Better a lean peace than a fat victory*. On the other side *Lorenzo de Medici* thinking now, he had an opportunity to give a value to his counsels and prudence, and especially set on by those who envied *Soderini's* authority, advised the chastising the insolency of the *Volterrans* by arms, affirming, if they were not made a memorable example, other Cities would never
stick

stick at doing the like upon the least and slightest occasion. This resolution taken, the *Volterrans* were answered, That they could not require the observance of those conditions themselves had broken, and that therefore they must submit themselves to the judgement of the Senate, or expect a War. The *Volterrans* returned with this answer, prepared for their defence, fortifying their Town, and sending to all the Princes of *Italy* for aid, but were hearkened to by few, only the *Sanesi*, and the Lord of *Prombino* promised them some assistance. The *Florentines* on the other side thinking haste in attaining it, of almost as much importance as victory it self, drew together ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, whom under the command of *Frederick*, Lord of *Urbino*, they sent into the Country of *Volterra*, and easily becoming Master of that, he lays siege to the City, which being seated upon an ascent, could no way be battered but on that side where the Church of *St. Alexander* stands. The *Volterrans* had hired about a thousand Soldiers for their defence, who seeing how bravely the *Florentines* assailed them, distrustful of being able to defend the Town, grew slow in the service, but in affronting the *Volterrans* ready enough; so that those poor Citizens were forced to endure the assaults of their enemies without, and the abuses of their friends within, till in the end despairing of any safety, they began to treat, and
for

Volterra
Sack.

for want of better terms were forced to submit to the discretion of the Florentine Commissioners; who causing the Gates to be opened, went to the Palace where their Priors were sitting, whom they commanded to return to their houses, and in the way one of them was by some of the Soldiers in derision stript, from this beginning (as men are still readier to do mischief than good) grew the destruction and sack of this City, which for a whole day was robbed, spoiled and plundered, neither did the women nor sacred places escape, but the Soldiers (as well those had so cowardly defended it, as those had fought against it) divided all their wealth and riches. The news of this victory was with great joy received at Florence, and because the enterprize was wholly Lorenzo's it gained him very great reputation; Whereupon one of his familiar friends reproaching Thomas Soderini for his counsels said, *And what say you now that Volterra is taken?* to whom Thomas answered, *I rather think it is lost, for had you taken it upon composition, you might have expected from it both advantage and security; but having taken it by force, in time of war it will weaken and annoy you, and in time of peace be both a charge and trouble.* In these times the Pope desirous to keep in obedience the Towns belonging to the Church, had caused Spalitto to be sackt, which by the procurement of factions within had rebelled, and afterwards because the City of Castello was fallen into

The Pope
sacks Spalitto,
and
besieges Castello.

into the same contumacy had besieged it. Nicholas Vitelli was Prince of that Town, he had contracted a very intimate friendship with Lorenzo de Medici, who was not wanting now to give him assistance, though not enough to defend him, yet sufficient, to sow those seeds of dissention between Pope Sixtus and the Medici which afterwards brought forth very ill fruit. Nor had they been so long breaking forth, had not the death of Peter Cardinal of Sisto intervened, for this Cardinal travelling all about Italy, and particularly to Milan and Venice (under pretence to honour the Nuptials of Hercules Marquis of Ferrara) had been founding the minds of Princes to find how they stood inclined to the Florentines; but being returned to Rome, he dyed not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the Venetians, for they feared the power of Sixtus, when it had the courage and counsel of Peter to back it; for though nature had produced him of mean and abject blood, and that afterwards he was educated within the walls of a Convent, yet as soon as he came to be Cardinal, he was filled with such pride and ambition, a Cardinals cap was so much too little, that the triple Crown would scarce have satisfied him: for he made a feast in Rome, might have been judged a prodigality in a King, and which cost him at least twenty thousand Florins, Sixtus deprived thus of this great Minister of State, his affairs went on much slower. However

However the *Florentines*, Duke and *Venetians*, having renewed the League, and left place for the Pope and King to enter, if they pleased: They made another contract between themselves with invitations to other Princes of *Italy* to joyn with them, if they thought fit; so that now *Italy* was divided into two factions; for every day something happened, begetting hatred and animosity between these two leagues, but particularly the affair of *Cyprus*, which Island the King laid claim to, but the *Venetians* possessed themselves of, whereupon the Pope and King obliged each other to stricter terms of mutual assistance. *Frederick* Prince of *Urbino* was at this time accounted one of the prime Captains of *Italy*, who had long been employed by the *Florentines*: him, that the League might want so valiant a head, the King and Pope strove to gain, and the King invited, and the Pope advised him to go to *Naples*, which to the great wonder and displeasure of the *Florentines* he did; who believed he exposed himself to the fate of *Jacob Piccinino*, though the contrary happened, for *Frederick* returned both from *Naples* and *Rome* with much honour, and still continued General of the League: Mean while the King and Pope were not wanting to sound the minds of the Lords of *Romagna*, and the *Sanesi*, by means of whose friendship they might more securely offend the *Florentines*, who perceiving their intent, by all convenient ways armed themselves to encounter

counter their ambition, and having lost *Frederick* of *Urbino*, entertained *Robert* of *Rimini*, renewed their League with the *Perugians*, and made a new one with the Lords of *Faenza*, the reason alleadged by the King and Pope for their hatred to the *Florentines* was, because they sought to withdraw the *Venetians* from them, and joyn them to their own side; and the Pope thought that whilst the *Venetians* and *Florentines* were united, it would be impossible for him to maintain the reputation of the Church, or Count *Girolamo*, his Estates in *Romania*. On the other side the *Florentines* feared that they would set them at enmity with the *Venetians*, not for their friendship sake, but to be the better enabled to injure them. And in these doubts and jealousies lived *Italy* two years before any War or Tumult broke forth. The first, though a little one happened in *Tuscany*. *Braccio* a man (as we have before related) famous in war, left behind him two sons, *Oddo* and *Charles*: This last very young, and the other slain by the inhabitants of the Vale of *Lamond*. *Charles* being come to mans Estate, and fit for action, was by the *Venetians* for the memory of his Father, and hopes of himself, entertained among other Leaders employed by the Republick; the time of his entertainment expired, he would not renew it, determining to try, if by his own valour, and the reputation of his Father, he could recover his Estates of

Charles the
son of Brac-
cio assails the
Sanesi.

Perugia, to which the *Venetians* readily consented, they being wont amidst others troubles to increase their own dominions: *Charles* therefore comes into *Tuscany*; and finding the affairs of *Perugia* somewhat too hard, because the *Florentines* were in league with them, yet resolving, since he had taken arms, to do something memorable, assaults the *Sanesi*, alledging they were his debtors for services done that State by his Father, which he required satisfaction for, and therewithall so briskly fell on, that he almost quite overthrew that Dominion. The Citizens of *Siena* seeing themselves so furiously assaulted, being apt to believe any ill of the *Florentines*, perswaded themselves that by their consent the attempt was made, heavily complaining thereof to the Pope and King, and sending withall Ambassadors to *Florence*, to expostulate the matter, and privately insinuating that *Charles* (without hopes of their assistance,) durst not so bodily have injured them. The *Florentines* excused themselves, affirming they were ready to shew their endeavours to prevent *Charles* his doing them any wrong, and to that purpose would in such terms, as the Ambassadors thought fit, command him to forbear offending the *Sanesi*, which *Charles* thought hard measure, demonstrating that the *Florentines*, by not backing him, had lost a considerable conquest, and rob'd him of a proportionable glory, for he could in a short time have pro-

mitted

mitted them the possession of that Town, whose cowardize and disorder he had found such, it was impossible they could long hold out. But now being forced to leave off, he returned into the *Venetians* pay, and the *Sanesi* (though freed by the *Florentines* from so many damages) continued their grudge against them, not thinking they bought any obligation to a people, who had only delivered them from an injury they had first occasioned. Whilst affairs stood thus between the King, Pope and *Tuscany*, an accident of greater moment happened in *Lombardy*, as the presage of future evils: There was one *Cola* of *Mantoua* a learned but ambitious man, who taught the Latine tongue to the youth of principal quality in *Milan*. In these (whether out of hate to the bad manners of the Duke, or moved by some other occasion) by all the discourses he made, he strove to beget an abhorrence of living under an evil Prince, pronouncing them glorious and happy, to whom Fortune and Nature had granted the favour of living in a Common-wealth, declaring how all famous men had been brought up in Republicks, and not under Princes, for those cherish virtuous men, and these destroy them, the one reaping benefit and advantage from their virtue, and the other standing in fear of it: those youths he had entertained the strictest familiarity with, were *John Andrea Lampognano*, *Charles Visconti*, and *Girolamo Olgiato*, with these he often

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discoursed

Conspiracy
against the
Duke of
Milan.

discourged about the corrupt nature of the Prince, and the infelicity of those lived under him; and such a confidence had he in these young men, that at last he made them swear when age should enable them, they would free their Countrey from the tyranny of that Prince, this desire thus instilled into them, increased with their years, and the Dukes ill manners and customs, and particular injuries done to themselves hastened the Execution of it. *Galeazzo* was lustful and cruel, which two qualities had with their circumstances made him utterly odious, for he was not content only to vitiate and debauch Ladies of quality, but took delight to publish it; nor would the death of men satisfy him, unless they were in some cruel manner tormented; he lived likewise under the infamy of having murdered his mother; for not thinking himself absolute Prince while she was present, he had so far wrought with her, that she was content to retire to her jointure-seat at *Cremona*, in which journey she fell suddenly sick and dyed; which made many think her son the cause of her death. This Duke in some concerns with the Female Sex had dishonoured *Charles* and *Girolamo*, and denied *John Andrea* the possession of the Abbey of *Miramondo*, which upon relations resignation had been granted him by the Pope. These private injuries spurred on the young men to revenge and deliver their Countrey from so many mischiefs, hoping

hoping that whenever they had the good fortune to kill the Duke, they should not only be followed by the chief of the Nobles, but by the whole people, being therefore determined upon the matter, they met often together, which because of their ancient familiarity, was nothing wondred at; and to keep their minds staid and resolved, they were always discoursing of the business, and practising with their dagger sheaths to hit one another on the brest, belly and in other mortal places: then they advised about the place and time; in the Castle they judged it could not be securely done, whilst he was a hunting uncertain and dangerous, in his walks of pleasure they guessed it would prove hard and unsuccessful, and at Feasts doubtful; wherefore they determined to fall on him at some publick Pomp and Solemnity, where they were certain he would be present, and they with least suspicion might assemble their Friends, concluding that if any of them were in the execution taken, the rest should kill him in the midst of their enemies, It was now the year 1476, and nigh unto Christmass, and because the Prince was accustomed in great Pomp upon *S. Stephens* day, to visit the Church of that Martyr, they resolved that the time and place for putting their design in execution; and on the morning of that Saints day, caused several of their trusty friends and servants to arm themselves, pretending to go and assist *John Andrea*, who

against the mind of some envious neighbours, had a desire to carry water into his lands, and them thus armed they brought to the Church, alleadging that before their departure, they would take leave of the Prince; they likewise assembled thither under divers pretences, several other of their friends and relations, hoping the principal deed being once done, every one would be ready to join in what remained, and their intent was as soon as the Prince was slain, to join with those armed men, and go to that place of the City, where they might with most ease raise the people, and persuade them to arm themselves against the Dutchess, and the chiefeft of the Court, hoping the people by reason of the famine wherewith they were oppressed, would be ready to follow them; resolving for an encouragement to give them the spoil of the houses of *Cecco Simonetta*, *John Botti* and *Francis Luconi* chief Ministers of State. This determination made, and the execution firmly resolved in their minds, *John Andrea* with his companions came early to the Church, where they heard Mass together; after which, *John Andrea* turning towards an image of *S. Ambrose*, said; *O thou Guardian and Patron of our City, thou knowest our intention, and the end why we adventure our selves into so many dangers; be propitious to our undertakings, and by favouring justice make it appear how much injustice displeaseth thee.* To the Duke on the other

other side before he came to Church, happened many things to prognosticate his approaching death, for in the morning when he rose, he put on (according to his usual custom) his privy Armour, which presently after, either because he thought it not becoming, or that it hurt his body, he put off: then he had a mind to hear Mass in the Castle, but his Chaplain was already gone to *S. Stephens* with all the Furniture of the Chapel: then he would have had the Bishop of *Como* say Mass in his stead, but he alleadged certain reasonable impediments, so that constrained as it were by necessity, he resolved to go to Church, but first he called for his two sons, *John Galeazzo* and *Hermes* whom he embraced and kissed many times, as if he had no power to depart from them: the conspirators in the mean time, both to lessen all suspicion, and shelter themselves from the cold, which was then very violent, were retired in a chamber of the chief Priest of the Church their friend, till upon word brought, that the Duke was coming, they went forth into the Church, and *John Andrea* and *Girolamo* placed themselves on the right hand, at the entrance into the Church, and *Charles Visconti* on the left, those that preceded the Duke were all gone in, and he just upon entrance encompassed with a great multitude, as in such a Ducal Pomp was convenient: the first that moved towards him were *Lampognano* and *Girolamo*, these pretending to make room for the

Galeazzo
Duke of
Milan slain.

Duke came up close to him, and assaulted him with sharp and short daggers they had hid in their sleeves. *Lampognano* gave him two wounds, one in the Belly, and the other in the throat; *Girolamo* likewise wounded him in the throat and the breast: *Charles Visconti* having taken his stand near the door, so that the Duke was past him ere he was set upon by his companions, could not reach to wound him before, but gave him two stabs into the back and shoulder, so quick and sudden were these six wounds given, that the Duke was fallen before any man perceived it, nor could he do or say any thing that was known, save only as he fell, he once cryed out, *O Lady help me.* The Duke fallen, the noise and clamour was great, many swords were drawn, and as it usually happens in such unlook'd for cases, many run out of the Church, and many run towards the tumult, without knowing any certainty of the matter. But those that were nearest to the Duke, and had seen him slain, knowing his murderers, pursued them; and of the conspirators *John Andrea* endeavouring to get out of the Church went among the women, who being many, and as the custom was, set on the ground, he was so entangled by their coats, that by a Moor one of the Dukes Footmen, he was overtaken and slain: *Charles* was likewise slain by the standards by; but *Girolamo Olgiati* escaped out among the croud, and seeing his companions

panions slain, and not knowing whither to flye went home, where neither his father nor brothers would receive him; but his mother having compassion of her son, recommended him to a Priest, an ancient friend of their Family; who putting him in his Friars weeds, conveyed him to his house where he staid two days, not without hopes that there might some tumult be raised in *Milan*, whereby he might be saved, but that not coming to pass, and fearing to be found there, he attempted to flye in disguise, but being known he was brought before the Magistrate, where he declared the whole order of the conspiracy. *Girolamo* was about three and twenty years of age, nor was he less resolute in suffering, than he had been in acting; for whilest he stood naked, and the Hangman before him with his knife in his hand ready to cut him in pieces, he spoke these Latine words, for he was learned, *Mors acerba, fama perpetua, stabit vetus memoria facti.* This attempt of these unhappy young men was closely contrived, and resolutely executed; and the occasion of their ruine was their not being followed, or defended by those they trusted would have done it. Let Princes therefore learn to live in such a manner, and gain so much love and reverence, that none can hope for safety that kills them: and let private persons know how vain the imagination is, to believe the multitude, though they are discontented, will in dan-
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ger follow or accompany them. This accident amazed all *Italy*, but those which soon after happened in *Florence* did much more terrifie it; by which the peace which had continued twelve years was broke; as in the next Book shall be set down, which as it begins with Blood and Horrour, so it ends with sorrow and tears!

THE Florentine History

Written by

NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

BOOK VIII.



He beginning of this eighth Book being placed in the midst of two Conspiracies, one in *Milan* already related, the other happening in *Florence*, and now to be told. It might seem convenient (pursuant to the method begun) to discourse something concerning the nature of Conspiracies, and the importance of them, which I would willingly do, if I had not before spoken concerning them, or it were a matter to be briefly passed over. But since it both requireth great consideration, and something has already been elsewhere said concerning it, I forbear any further mention thereof, and proceed to relate. That as the House of the *Medici* had overcome all those enemies, which openly

Machiavel's History Book VIII.

had opposed them; so to compleat to themselves and Family, the sole and ample authority over the City; it was likewise requisite they should oppress all those who secretly plotted against them, for whilst they contended with authority equalled by any other Families, those Citizens who envied their greatness, might openly oppose them without fear of being oppressed in the beginning of their attempts; for whilst the Magistrates were free, neither Faction till they had lost the day, had any occasion of fear. But after the victory in 1466, the Government was so closely grasped by the *Medici*, and they assumed so great Authority, that if any were discontented, they were enforced either patiently to submit to the Government under which they lived, or else privately and by way of conspiracy attempt a remedy; which plots seldom succeed, begetting for the most part ruine to those which form them, and greatness to those against whom they are contrived; so that any Prince or Lord of a City being by conspiracy assaulted, if he be not like the Duke of *Milan* (which rarely happens) slain, becomes more powerful than before, and oft-times from a good man turns wicked, for these private plots create occasions of fear, fear seeks security, and the search of security produces injury of others, which is the common mother of hatred, and oftentimes of his own destruction; and thus indeed treasons are the immediate destroyers

Book VIII. of Florence.

destroyers of those that contrive them, and one way or other in conclusion offend him against whom they are contrived. *Italy* was as we have before related, divided into two factions: the Pope and King of one party, and the *Venetians* Duke and *Florentines* on the other. And though war was not yet kindled amongst them, yet every day brought forth new blasts to blow the coals, and the Pope especially in all his actions and enterprises studied to affront the State of *Florence*; for *Philip de Medici* Archbishop of *Pisa*, about that time dying, the Pope contrary to the will of the Senate of *Florence* invested *Francis Salviati*, whom he knew to be an enemy to the house of *Medici* with that Archbishoprick, to whom the Senate refusing to give possession, there sprung up new, and more grievous offences, by reason of that contest between the Pope and that State, besides in *Rome* his Holiness conferred many favours on the Family of the *Pazzi*, and upon all occasions discountenanced the *Medici*. The *Pazzi* in those times both for riches and honour, lived in as much splendor as any family in *Florence*; the head of whom was *Messer Jacob*, who for his Riches and Nobility was by the people made Knight; he had no children, but one natural daughter, but he had many Nephews, sons of *Messer Peter* and *Anthony* his brothers; the chief of which were *William*, *Francis*, *Rinate* and *John*, and after them, *Andrew*, *Nicholas* and *Galeatto*: *Cosmo de Medici*

Two powerful factions in Italy!

Medici (observing their riches and glory) had married his Niece *Biancha* to *William*, hoping by this alliance to keep the Families more united, and remove that enmity and hatred, which are the usual products of envy and jealousy: yet (so fallacious and uncertain are the contrivances of man) matters fell out quite otherwise, for those who counselled *Lorenzo*, insinuated how it was dangerous and destructive to his authority, to suffer any Citizens to heap up Riches and Honours; whence it happened that Mr. *Jacob* and his Nephews were not advanced to those degrees of Honour, other Citizens thought they had deserved: and hence sprung the first anger in the *Pazzi*, and fear in the *Medici*, and the one increasing, afforded matter and growth to the other; for the *Pazzi* in all debates to which the other Citizens assembled, were not kindly hearkened to by the Magistrates: And the counsel of eight (*Francis Pazzi* happening to be at *Rome*) upon a slight occasion, and without observing the respect usual to Citizens of his quality, constrained him to return to *Florence*, which made the *Pazzi* in all places rip up their grievances with bitter and vehement reproaches, and those increased the others jealousies, and added to their own injury. *John Pazzi* had married the daughter of *John Borromei* a very rich man, whose estate, he dying without issue Male, fell by right to his daughter; however *Charles* his Nephew possessed

Discontents
between the
Medici and
Pazzi.

possessed himself of part of his goods, and the cause coming to a trial, a Law was made disinheriting *John Pazzi's* wife, and giving the estate to *Charles*, which injustice the *Pazzi* wholly imputed to the *Medici*; about which *Julian* many times complained to his brother *Lorenzo*, telling him he was doubtful, least by grasping too much, they should lose all; but *Lorenzo* warm in youth and authority would take all things on himself, and was ambitious, men should know they were done by him. The *Pazzi* with so great riches, and such nobility, incapable of suffering so many injuries, began to consult how they might revenge themselves: the first that made a motion against the *Medici* was *Francis*, who more sensible, and withal more courageous than the rest, resolved to attain what he wanted, or lose what he had; and because he hated the Government of *Florence*, he lived for the most part in *Rome*, where according to the custom of the *Florentine* Merchants, he drove a great Trade, and had a mighty stock of money, and *Earl Girolamo* being his intimate Friend, they often made mutual complaints of the *Medici*; insomuch that after many consultations, they at length concluded that ere the one could be secure in his estate, or the other in his City, there was an absolute necessity of changing the Government of *Florence*, which they could contrive no way to effect, but by the death of *Lorenzo* and *Julian*: they supposed the

Conspiracy
against *Lo-
renzo* and
*Julian Me-
dici*.

the Pope and the King would easily consent, if the facility of accomplishing it were declared to them; having formed these imaginations in their heads, they communicated them to *Francis Salviati* Archbishop of *Pisa*, who being ambitious, and lately injured by the *Medici*, readily joined with them; and examining among themselves what was fit to be done, they determined (to add the greater facility to the enterprise) to gain *Messer Jacob Pazzi* to their party; whereupon they thought it convenient that *Francis Pazzi* should to this intent go to *Florence*, and the Archbishop and Earl stay at *Rome* to sollicite the Pope, when there should be occasion. *Francis* being come to *Florence*, found *Messer Jacob* more reserved, and difficult to be perswaded, than he could have wished him; whereof giving advice to *Rome*, it was judged fit to employ some greater authority to dispose him, to which end, the Archbishop and Earl communicated the whole design to *John Battista* of *Montesecco* the Popes General; he was a very famous Captain, and much obliged to the Pope and Earl, yet he disliked the plot as difficult and dangerous; which danger and difficulties the Archbishop endeavoured to remove, by telling him what assistance the Pope and King would give to the enterprise, adding withal the hate born by the Citizens of *Florence* to the *Medici*, the numerous kindred of the *Salviati* and *Pazzi*, and the

the easiness of killing them as they were walking the City without any guard or any suspicion, which done, the change of Government would follow of course; all which *John Battista* gave no intire credit to, having heard many *Florentines* affirm the contrary. Whilest they were laying these plots and contrivances, it happened that *Charles* Lord of *Faenza* fell so sick, that there was little hopes of his recovery. The Archbishop and Earl thought they had now an opportunity to send *John Battista* to *Florence*, and thence into *Romania*, under pretence of regaining certain towns possessed by the Lord of *Faenza*; the Earl therefore gave Commission to *John Battista* to confer with *Lorenzo*, and in his name desire his advice in the management of the affairs of *Romania*, and that afterwards he should consult with *Francis Pazzi*, and both together endeavour to dispose *Messer Jacob* to their party, and to the end he might be back'd with the Popes authority, they procured him before his departure audience from his Holiness, who engaged with all his power to further the design. *John Battista* being arrived at *Florence* addressed himself to *Lorenzo*, by whom he was courteously received, and in all his demands prudently and friendly advised; at which *John Battista* was somewhat amazed, finding him a man quite different from what he had been represented, for he perceived him to be courteous, discreet and a

great friend of the Earls; however he would speak with *Francis*, but not finding him (for he was gone to *Lucca*) he went himself to *Messer Jacob*, and at first found him very averſe to the deſign, but before they parted (ſomewhat moved with the Popes authority) he told *John Battista* that he ſhould go to *Romania*, and by that time he returned *Francis* would be come to *Florence*, and then they would diſcourſe the matter at large. *John Battista* went and returned, and ſtill continued to entertain *Lorenzo* with his feigned Commiſſion from the Earl, and afterwards held divers conferences with *Francis* and *Messer Jacob*, whom at length they prevailed with ſo far, that he conſented to the conſpiracy. Then they began to conſult of the execution, *Messer Jacob* thought it impoſſible whileſt both brothers were in *Florence*, and therefore adviſed to ſtay till *Lorenzo* went to *Rome*, whither there was a report he was deſigned: *Francis* would have been glad to have had *Lorenzo* at *Rome*; however ſuppoſing he did not go, he affirmed that either at a wedding, at ſome publick ſports, or in the Church both brothers might be ſlain; and as to foreign aid, in his judgment the Pope might draw together an Army, under pretence of aſſaulting the Caſtle of *Montone*, which he had a juſt occaſion to take from Earle *Charles*, for having raiſed the tumults before mentioned in the Countrey of *Siena* and *Perugia*; yet they made no farther

concluſion

concluſion ſave that *Francis de Pazzi*, and *John Battista* ſhould go to *Rome*, and there with the Pope and Earl determine all things, the matter was aſreſh debated at *Rome*, and in the end it was concluded (an expedition againſt *Montone* being reſolved) that *John Francis* of *Tolentino*, a Captain of the Popes ſhould go into *Romania*, and *Lorenzo* of *Caſtello* into his own Country, and both keep their forces in a readineſs to obſerve ſuch orders, as they ſhould receive from the Archbiſhop *Salviati*, and *Francis Pazzi*, who together with *John Battista* of *Monteſſeco* ſhould come to *Florence*, where they ſhould make proviſion of all things neceſſary to put their deſign in execution, to which King *Ferdinand* had by his Ambaſſador promiſed his aſſiſtance. The Archbiſhop and *Francis*, being come to *Florence*, drew into their party, *Jacob* the ſon of *Messer Poggio*, a young man of excellent learning, but ambitious, and deſirous of Novelty; they likewiſe engaged two *Jacob Salviati's*, the one brother, the other kinsman to the Archbiſhop, to them they added *Bernardo Bandini*, and *Napoleone Franceſi*, ſtout young men, and who had been often obliged by the *Pazzi*, of ſtrangers (beſides thoſe before named) there were joyned with them *Messer Antonio de Volterra*, and one *Stephen* a Prieſt, who taught the Latin Tongue to *Jacob de Pazzi's* daughter. *Renato de Pazzi*, a prudent and grave man, and who very well knew the ill conſe-

quences of such undertakings, not only refused to joyn in the conspiracy, but detested it, and by all honest means he could sought to prevent it. The Pope had in the University of *Pisa* caused to be educated in the study of the Cannon Laws, *Raffael de Riario*, Nephew to Earl *Girolamo*, and whilst he was yet there, had advanced him to the Dignity of Cardinal. The Conspirators thought convenient to bring this Cardinal to *Florence*, not only the better to conceal the Plot (as designing in his house to hide those Conspirators, they had occasion of) but likewise to gain a fitter opportunity of executing it. The Cardinal therefore coming, was by *Messer Jacob de Pazzi* entertained at *Montughi*, his Country-house near *Florence*. The Conspirators by his means had designed to get *Lorenzo* and *Julian* together, and the first time that happened to kill them: they therefore contrived, they should invite the Cardinal to their own house at *Fiesole*, whither *Julian* by chance, or of purpose came not, so that appointment failed; then they determined he should invite them at *Florence*, whither they could not chuse but both come, and appointed the feast on Sunday the 26 of *April* 1478, the Conspirators hoping they might find means to murder them, at this feast met together on *Saturday* night, and ordered all things they thought fit for the execution next day, but in the morning *Francis Pazzi* had intelligence that *Julian* would

would not come to the Feast, whereupon the Conspirators again assembled and concluded, that the execution must not be longer delayed; for that it was impossible, being known to so many, but it would be discovered; wherefore they resolved to murder them in the Cathedral Church of *Sancta Reparata*, whither the Cardinal going, the two brothers would (according to custom) attend him, they assigned to *John Battista* the charge of killing *Lorenzo*, and *Francis Pazzi*, and *Bernard Bandini* were to murder *Julian*. *John Battista* refused the office: for whether the familiarity he had had with *Lorenzo* had softened his mind, or whether moved by some other reason, he told them he durst not commit such a villany in the Church, and add sacrilege to treason. This was the first step to the ruine of their design; for straitened by time, they were constrained to give the charge to *Antonio* of *Volterra*, and *Stephen* the Priest, two whose nature and experience rendered them unfit for it; for no action requires more resolution and settled courage than this, and he who undertakes any thing of this kind, ought to be a man experienced in blood and slaughter, it having oft-times been seen, that men, though trained up in arms, and at all times else courageous have had their hearts fail upon such attempts, However this resolution held, and they agreed that the signal to fall on, should be when the Priest at the high Altar began

to sing Mass, and that at the same time the Archbishop *Salviati*, with *Giacopo Poggio*, should seize on the publick Palace, to the intent the Senate might be brought (as soon as the two young men were slain) either voluntarily, or by force to favour their design. Thus determined, they went to the Church, whither the Cardinal with *Lorenzo Medici* were already gone. The Church was full of people, and Divine Service begun, but *Julian Medici*, not yet come, whereupon *Francis Pazzi*, together with *Bernardo*, who were appointed to murder him, went home to find him, and by cunning flattery, and artifices perswaded him to come to Church. It is a thing notoriously memorable how such inveterate hatred, accompanied with the thoughts of so detestable a villany, could with such undauntedness of mind, and obstinacy of spirit be concealed in *Francis* and *Barnardo*, for all the way as they conducted him, and in the Church, they entertained him with pleasant and youthful discourse. Nor did *Francis* forbear out of a pretence of kindness and familiarity to take *Julian* in his arms, embracing and pressing his body to find out, if he had any privy armour. *Gian* and *Lorenzo* were both sensible of the hate the *Pazzi* bore them, and how they desired to take away their authority in the State, but they did not fear their lives, believing when they did attempt any thing they would do it civilly, and not with such

extre

extremity of violence, and therefore free from any such mistrust, they took so little care of themselves, that they always entertained them with all manner of friendliness. The Murtherers thus prepared, those appointed to assassinate *Lorenzo*, thrust up close to him, which by reason of the croud, they might easily do without suspicion, and the others did the like to *Julian*, when the time appointed being come, *Bernardo Bandini* with a short dagger prepared for the purpose, stabs *Julian* in the brest, who advancing two or three steps fell to the ground, and *Francis Pazzi* throwing himself upon him, loaded him with wounds, and was so eager in his villany, that blinded with rage and fury, he gave himself a desperate wound in the leg: *Messer Antonio* and *Friar Stephen* on the other side fell upon *Lorenzo*, but though they made many strokes at him, they gave him only a slight wound in the throat; for either through their cowardise, or *Lorenzo's* courage (who seeing himself thus assaulted, bravely with his sword defended himself) so their attempt was frustrate, and he by the assistance of those about him saved from further harm, whereat dismayed they fled and hid themselves, but were afterwards found out, shamefully put to death, and dragged through the City. *Lorenzo* in the mean while retired into the Vestry of the Church with those friends he had about him, and there shut themselves in. *Bernardo Bandini* seeing *Julian*

*Julian Me-
dici slain.*

*Lorenzo
saves himself*

lian dead, slew likewise *Francis Neri*, a great friend of the *Medici*, either out of some old grudge, or because he had endeavoured to save *Julian*, and not content with these two murders, he ran to seek out *Lorenzo*, to supply with his courage and activity, the sloath and cowardise of the others; but finding him shut up in the Vestry, failed of his intent. In the midst of this dreadful and villanous accident, the terrour of which made most men think the Church was falling on their heads, the Cardinal retired to the Altar, where with great difficulty he was saved by the Priests, till by the Senates order (when the tumult was ceased) he was conveyed to his Palace, where in great fear he remained till his delivery. There was at this time in *Florence* some *Perugians* driven from their habitations by the factions, enemies to their Families, whom the *Pazzi* (upon promise to restore them to their Country) had drawn into the conspiracy. These the Archbishop *Salviati* (who together with *Jacob Poggio*, the two *Salviati*, and other friends, was gone to possess himself of the Palace) took along with him, and being come to the Palace, left some of his men below with orders, that when they heard a noise, they should seise on the gates, and himself with the greatest part of the *Perugians*, went up, where finding the Senate at dinner, for it was late he was presently by *Cesar Petrucci Gonfaloniere* of Justice ad-

mitted

mitted. Whereupon entring with a few and leaving the remainder without, they of their own accord shut themselves into the Chancery, whose lock was so contrived, that without the Key, it could not be opened, neither on the inside, nor without. The Archbishop mean while being gone in with the *Gonfaloniere*, under pretence of having some matter to confer with him from the Pope, began to utter some broken and discomposed words: Infomuch, that his fearful speech, and the change of his countenance bred such a suspicion in the *Gonfaloniere*, that with a great cry he thrust him out; and finding there *Jacob Poggio*, took him by the hair, and delivered him into the hands of the Serjeants; and the whole Senate taking the alarm with such arms as came next to hand, fell upon the rest that were come up with the Archbishop, and (part of them being shut up, and part terrified and dismayed) soon dispatcht them all, or threw them alive out of the Palace windows: Of whom the Archbishop, the two *Jacob Salviati's*, and *Jacob Poggio* were hanged. Those who remained below in the Palace, had forced the Guards and the Gate, and possessed themselves of all the lower rooms; so that the Citizens, who in this Tumult ran to the Palace, could neither with their arms assist, nor counsel, advise the Senators. Mean while *Francis Pazzi* and *Bernard Bandini* seeing *Lorenzo* escaped, and one of themselves,

The Archbishop and other conspirators hanged.

selves, in whom the main hopes of the enterprise lay, grievously wounded, were daunted. And *Bernardo*, with the same activity of spirit, wherewith he had assaulted the *Medici*, begins to consider of his own safety, and seeing all lost flees to save himself. *Francis* being returned to his house, made tryal if he could sit on horseback, (for the orders were, that he with some men at arms should ride about the Town, and call the people to liberty and arms) but he could not, so dangerous was his wound, and so much blood he had lost; wherefore putting off his clothes, he laid himself in his naked bed, desiring *Messer Jacob* to do that which he himself could not; *Messer Jacob*, though old and unused to these Tumults, yet to make this last tryal of his fortune, mounted on horseback, with about an hundred armed men prepared before for that purpose, and goes in to the *Piazza* of the Palace, calling the people to his assistance, and proclaiming liberty; but because the first were by the fortune and liberality of the *Medici* made deaf, and the other was no otherwise desired in *Florence* than enjoyed, no one answered him, only the Senate, who still kept in the upper part of the Palace, saluted him with stones, and with the deepest threatenings they could devise, terrified him: And *Messer Jacob* being in suspence what to do, was met by *John Soristeri* his brother-in-Law, who reproving him for being the oc-

casion

casion of these Tumults, exhorted him to return to his house, assuring him that the welfare of the people and liberty of the City concerned other Citizens as well as himself. Wherefore despairing of any help, seeing *Lorenzo* his enemy alive, *Francis* wounded, and himself not followed by any, not knowing what other course to take, he resolved, if it were possible, by flight to save his life, and to that end with the company he had with him in the *Piazza*, takes his way out of *Florence* towards *Romania*: By this time all the City was up in arms, and *Lorenzo de Medici* was, accompanied with many armed men, come to his own house: The people had likewise recovered the Palace, and killed or taken all those that possessed it. And now the name of *Medici* was proclaimed through every street, and the quarters of the dead, either fixed upon their weapons points, or dragged through the streets; and every one with words full of rage and actions as cruel persecuted the *Pazzi*, already had the people entred their houses, and naked as he was drawn *Francis* out, whom having drag'd to the Palace, they hanged up with the Archbishop, and the rest: Yet all the injuries and affronts done him, either in the way, or afterwards could not extract one word from him, but fixedly looking upon every one, without so much as a groan, he dyed. *William Pazzi*, as well for his own innocency, as for the sake of his wife

Bianca

The resolute
death of
Francis
Pazzi.

Bianca, was saved in his Brother-in-law *Lorenzo's* Palace. There was not a Citizen in this terrible necessity, but either armed or disarmed, went to *Lorenzo's* house, offering him their lives and fortunes. So great was the love and favour that House had by their prudence and liberality gained. *Rinato Pazzi* was (when this villany was done) retired into his house in the Country, where hearing the news, he would have fled in disguise, but by the way was known, taken and brought back to *Florence*. *Messer Jacob* was likewise taken passing the Mountains, for those Mountaineers having notice of what was past at *Florence*, suspecting him because of his flight, set upon him & brought him back, nor could he obtain the favour, though he often beg'd it to to be killed by them on the way. *Messer Jacob* and *Rinate* were adjudged to dye four days after the action, and in all those executions which in that interval happened, and which had covered the streets with the Carcases and quarters of men, none was observed to be pittied, or to touch any man with the least compassion, but *Rinate*, for he was esteemed a good and a prudent man, and not observed to be tainted with that pride which infected the rest of his Family. And now because the persecution of these Conspirators should be in all points exemplary. *Messer Jacob Pazzi* was first taken out of the Tomb of his Ancestors, and as one excommunicated, buried under the City walls, and

and being there again dug up, and with the same halter, in which he was hanged, drag'd naked through the streets, and since he could not on earth find a quiet Sepulture was by those that thus drag'd him thrown into the River *Arno*, whose waters were then very high. A great example of the fickleness of fortune, to see a man of that riches and of so happy an Estate, fall with so much infelicity ruine and disgrace. Some have reported him very vitious, as addicted to gaming and swearing, like one desperate and careless. If it were so, he recompensed those vices with his liberality and alms, for he relieved many poor, and gave large Donatives to pious Structures. And this one good thing may be said of him, that the *Saturday* preceding the day appointed for this cruel murder, (that none might be sharers in his misfortune) he paid all his debts, and all the Merchandise he had either in the Custom-house, or at home, belonging to others, with wonderful care he caused to be delivered to the owners. *John Battista de Montesecco*, after many tedious examinations was beheaded. *Napoleone Francesi* by flight escaped punishment. *William Pazzi* was confined, and all his Kinsmen that remained alive imprisoned in the Dungeon of the Castle of *Volterra*. All Tumults appeased, and the Conspirators punished, the Funerals of *Julian* were celebrated, which were accompanied with the tears of all the Citizens, for indeed he was

a man endowed with all that winning affability courtesie and liberality could be wished or desired in one of his degree and condition. There remained of him one son, born some few months after his death, and called *Julio*, who is endowed with that virtue and fortune, which all the world at present knows, and which when I come to the occurrences of these times, shall, God granting me life, fully set forth. Those forces under *Messer Lorenzo de Castello* in the Vale of *Tevere*, and those under *John Francisco Tolentino* in *Romania* were both advancing at the same time towards *Florence*, in favour of the *Pazzi*, till understanding how the design had miscarried, they returned back. But since that change of Government in *Florence* designed by the King and Pope had not succeeded, they determined that what they could not effect by conspiracies, they would by open war; and both one and the other with all possible speed drew together their Forces to assault the State of *Florence*, declaring that all they desired from that City was the removal of *Lorenzo de Medici*, who only of all the *Florentines* was their enemy. The Kings forces had already passed the *Tronto*, and the Popes were in the Country of *Perugia*, who that he might make the *Florentines* feel the smart of Spiritual as well as Temporal wounds, excommunicates and curses them. Whereupon the *Florentines* seeing so many several forces moving against them, prepared with all diligence for their defence, and

The Pope
and King
make war
with *Florence*.

Lo^d

Lorenzo de Medici, since publick fame reported the War, made only against him, assembles in the Palace of the Lords all the Citizens of quality, to the number of above three hundred, to whom he spake in this manner. I know not (most mighty Lords and Right worshipful Citizens) whether I ought to grieve or rejoyce at what is lately happened, for when I consider with how much fraud and deceit, with how much malice and hatred I was assaulted, and my brother slain, I cannot but be concerned for my self, and with all my heart, and with all my soul grieve for him: but when I consider with what active readinesse, with what faithful diligence, with what intire love, and universal consent, you have revenged my brother, and defended me, I cannot but rejoyce; nay, I find my self exalted in my spirits, and glory in my fortune: For if this experience has let me know I had more enemies in this City than I thought: It has likewise taught me, that I have more fervent and faithful friends than I believed, I must therefore condole with you for the injuries of others, and rejoyce for your knidness: yet ought my sorrow to be the greater as the injuries received, are so rare, so without example, and so little by us deserved. Consider, most worthy Citizens, to what extremities the perversness of fortune has reduced our house, that the being encompassed with friends in the midst of our kindred; no, not the Church it self can secure us. Those who are in fear of death use to run to their friends for assistance, to their kindred for

for protection; but we alas find ours armed for our destruction. Those who either on publick or private accounts are persecuted, use to flee to the Church for sanctuary, but where others are defended, we are slain. Where Parricides and assassines are secure, the Medici meet their Murderers: But God who hath hitherto never forsaken our house, hath now preserved us, and undertaken the defence of our just cause. For what injury have we ever done to create in any man so fierce a desire of revenge? these very men, who have persecuted us with such malice, we never so much as privately offended, for had we injured them, they could never have had the opportunity thus to injure us. And when they attribute to us publick injuries, if ever any were done them, (which I know not off) they offend you more than us; and this Palace, and the Majesty of this Government, rather than our house, by imagining that you, for our sakes, undeservedly oppress your Citizens, which is a suggestion utterly alien to truth, for we, if we could, and you, if we would, had never consented to it, for whoever searches into the truth, will find that our house, for no other cause has with such general consent been advanced by you, but only that we have still endeavoured with liberality and kindness to overcome all men. If we then have been honourers of strangers, how should we be injurers of our Kindred? If desire of rule moved them to this (as their seising the Palace, and coming armed into the Piazza sufficiently evidences) the more wicked ambitious

tions and damnable the occasion is, the more it discovers and condemns it self. If out of envy and hatred to our authority they had done it, they offend not us, but you that gave it; but surely that authority meritt hate which men usurp, not what they gain by liberality, humanity, and magnificence. And you well know our house never mounted to any degree of honour, but by the order of this Magistracy, and your universal consent: My Grandfather Cosimo returned not from banishment by arms or violence, but your general and united vote. My Father when old and infirm defended not himself from so many Enemies of the State, but you with your good will and authority defended him. Nor could I after my fathers death, (being but as it were a child) have maintained the honour of my family, had it not been supported by your favour and counsel: Never could those of my Family have governed this Republick, had not you with them governed as you do still govern it; I cannot therefore imagine what reason they have to hate us, or whence their Malice sprung? let them envy their own Ancestors, who with pride and avarice lost that reputation, which ours with quite different qualities have known how to gain. But grant that we have done them mighty injuries, and they had reason to prosecute our ruine: yet why should they offend this Palace? Why enter into a league with the King and Pope against the liberty of this Republick? Why disturb the settled peace of Italy? In this they are without excuse, for they

they ought to offend those who have offended them, and not confound private animities with publick injuries; whereby though their malice be stopt, our miseries are revived, the Pope and King (upon their sole account) coming to invade us: which war they say is made against me and my family, I wish to God it were true, then the remedy were both ready and certain; for I will never be so ill a Citizen, to value more my own safety, than your danger; much rather should I quench your flames with my own ruine; but because injuries done by the mighty, are always covered with some more seemly pretence, they have chosen this veil to cast over their present injustice: but if you think otherwise, I am in your hands, you may support, or you may suppress me, you my fathers, you my defenders, for what ever you shall command, I shall readily obey; nor will I refuse, if you shall think fit, to end this war with my own, which was begun with my brothers blood. The Citizens while Lorenzo spoke, could not refrain from tears, and with the same compassion he was heard, he was by one commissioned thereunto, answered: Telling him, that City acknowledged the merits of him and his, to be such, that he might rest assured, that with the same readiness and affection wherewith they had revenged his brother, and defended him, they would still preserve his life and reputation, nor should he lose either, till they had lost their Countrey. And to make their actions correspond with their words, they ordered as

The Citizens
obliging an-
swer to Lo-
renzo's
speech.

a guard

guard of his body, a certain number of soldiers to be maintained by the publick, to defend him against domestick treasons, then they gave directions for the war, leaving much, and raising money, as far as their power neither would extend; by virtue of their league, they sent likewise to the Duke and Venetians for aid. And since the Pope had loved himself a wolf, and not a Shepherd, that they might not as guilty be devoured, with the best declarations they could invent, they justified their cause, filling all Italy with accounts of the treasons practised against their State: "Setting forth the impiety and injustice of the Pope, who having by unlawful means usurped the Papacy, with malice exercised it; for he had not only sent one, by him advanced to the chief prelatial Dignity, in the company of Traitors and Parricides, to commit such a murder in the Church, in the midst of Divine Service, and at the instant of the celebration of the most holy Sacrament, but afterwards (since his design of murdering their Citizens, changing their Government, and sacking their City at pleasure had not succeeded) he had excommunicated, and with papal maledictions threatened and oppressed them: but if God were just, who hated violence, he would certainly manifest his displeasure against this his Vicar, & right their wrongs, who (having no other refuge) had recourse unto him. And so far were the Florentines

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The Florentines slight the Popes curles.

from receiving this interdiction or obeying it, that they forced the Priests to celebrate Divine Service. They likewise summoned a Council in *Florence* of all the Prelates in *Tuscany* under their Dominion; wherein they appealed from the unjust sentence of the Pope, to the next General Council; nor did the Pope want reasons to justify his cause; alleading, "That it appertained to a true pastor of the Church to extirpate Tyranny, depress the wicked, and exalt the good, and that it belonged not to the secular power to imprison Cardinals, hang Bishops, kill, quarter and drag through the streets Priests without any distinction, slaying the innocent and the guilty. Notwithstanding so many quarrels and accusations, the Cardinal whom the *Florentines* had in their custody, was delivered up to the Pope; whereupon he without any fear or respect, with all his and the Kings Forces assailed them: and the two Armies (one under *Alphonso*, eldest son of *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, and the other under *Frederick* Earl of *Urbino*) being entred *Chianti* by way of *Siena* (which sided with the enemy) took *Radda* and several other Castles, and wasted all the Countrey; which done, they encamped before *Castellina*. The *Florentines* beholding that fierce invasion, were in great fear, being destitute of men, and help from their friends coming slowly; for though the Duke sent some succours, the *Vene-*

The King and Pope invade the *Florentines*.

nor denied themselves obliged to aid the *Florentines* in a private quarrel; for private differences were not to be publicly defended. Wherefore the *Florentines* to dispose the *Venetians* to juster thoughts, sent *Thomas Soderini* Ambassadour to that Senate, and in the mean time they hired Soldiers, making *Hercules* Marquis of *Ferrara* their General: whilst they were making these preparations, the enemies Army so closely freighted *Castellina*, that the Townsmen despairing of any relief, after forty days siege yielded. Thence the enemy turned towards *Arezzo*, and encamped before *Monte S. Sovino*: by this time the *Florentine* Army was in a readiness, and advancing towards the enemy, took their station within three miles of them, and so much incommoded them, that *Frederick* of *Urbino* desired truce for some few days, which was granted so much to the *Florentines* disadvantage, that those who asked it wondred; for had they not obtained it, they must have been forced to depart with shame and dishonour, but having so many days to put themselves in order; no sooner was the truce expired, but they took the Castle before the *Florentines* faces; however winter now coming on, for the better conveniency of quarters, the enemy retreated into the Countrey of *Siena*, and the *Florentines* likewise withdrawing into the most commodious stations; the Marquis of *Ferrara* (having done little good for him-

Genova re-
bells.

self, and less for others) returned to his own Countrey. About this time *Genova* rebelled from the State of *Milan* upon these occasions. After the death of *Galeazzo*, *John* his son being of an age unfit for Government, there arose contention between *Sforza*, *Levi*, *Octavian* and *Ascanius* his uncles, and the Lady *Bona* his mother, for every one of them would have the tuition of the young Duke. In which controversie the Lady *Bona* the old Dutchess (by the advice of *Thomas Soderini* then Ambassador there for the State of *Florence*, and *Cecco Simonetto* who had been Secretary to *Galeazzo*.) got the better, whereupon the *Sforzi* flying from *Milan*, *Octavian* passing the *Adda* was drowned, the other were confined to several places, together with *Robert* Lord of *San Severino*, who during those troubles had deserted the Dutchess, and joined with them. Afterwards those wars happening in *Tuscany*, hoping by new accidents to meet with new fortunes, they broke their confinements, and each attempted new exploits, to restore themselves to their lost honours: King *Alphonso* perceiving that the *Florentines* were in all their necessity, assisted only by the State of *Milan*, to deprive them likewise of that support, contrived to give the Dutchess so much trouble in her own estates, that she could not provide for the *Florentines*; and by means of *Prospero Adorni*, the Lord *Robert* and the rebel *Sforzi* caused *Genova* to rebel against the Duke. There remain-

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ed only faithful to him the little Castle, relying on which, the Dutchess sent a considerable force to recover the City, but they being defeated, and she seeing the danger hanging over her sons estates and her self, *Tuscany* being topsie-turvey, and the *Florentines* on whom alone she relied, in distress, she determined since she could not gain *Genova* her subject, to recover it her friend, and agreed with *Battistino Fregoso* enemy to the *Adorni* to give him the little Castle, and make him Prince of *Genova*, on condition he would drive out the *Adorni*, and not favour the rebel *Sforzi*: *Battistino* with the help of the little Castle, and his faction, becomes master of *Genova*, and according to their custom makes himself Doge, so that the *Sforzi* and Lord *Robert* chased out of *Genova*, came with their adherents and followers into *Lunigiana*; whereupon the King seeing the troubles of *Lombardy* were composed, took occasion from these out-casts of *Genova* to disturb *Tuscany* towards *Pisa*, that the *Florentines* dividing their Forces might be weakened, to which end they gave order (winter being already past) that the Lord *Robert* should with his Forces advance from *Lunigiana*, and fall into the Territory of *Pisa*. *Robert* fell fiercely to work, and many of the *Pisan* Castles he took and sack'd, and at length made his incursions as far as the City. Whilest these things were in agitation, there arrived at *Florence* Ambassadors

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from the Emperour, the King of *France*, and King of *Hungary*, all sent from their respective Princes to the Pope, who perswaded the *Florentines* to send Ambassadors to his Holiness, assuring them of their utmost assistance by a good and sound peace, to put an end to this war: the *Florentines* refused not to try the experiment, to render themselves blameless, and make it appear to all men they were lovers of peace, so the Ambassadors went, but returned without any conclusion; whereupon the *Florentines* to honour themselves with the reputation of the King of *France*'s Friendship (whilest one part of *Italy* injured them and the other forsook them) sent Ambassador to that King *Donato Acciavolo* a man expert in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, and whose Ancestors had always held one of the prime degrees in the City, but being upon his journey he dyed at *Milan*, whereupon his Countrey, to recompence him in them he had left behind him, and to honour his memory, solemnized his Funeral in a most magnificent manner at the publick charges, giving pensions and advancement to his sons, and convenient marriage-portions with his daughters. In his stead was sent Ambassador to the King *Messer Guido Antonio Vespucci* a man excellently skillful both in the civil and Canon Law. The Lord *Robert*'s invasion of the Territory of *Pisa* sorely afflicted (as all unexpected accidents do) the *Florentines*, for being so

fiercely

fiercely assaulted on *Siena* side, they knew not how to turn themselves for the defence of *Pisa*; however with good Commanders and necessary provisions they supplied that City, and to keep the *Lucchese* faithful, that they might not furnish the enemy either with men, money or provision, they sent *Peter Caponi* Ambassador thither; who was by that people received with such jealousy, because of the hatred that City bore the people of *Florence*, arising from old injuries and continued fears, that he was several times in danger of being slain by the rabble; so that his Embassy rather begot new regrets, than contributed to any fresh union. And now the *Florentines* recall'd the Marquis of *Ferrara*, entertained the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and with great instance requested from the *Venetians* Earl *Charles* son of *Braccio*, and *Deiphobus* the son of Earl *Jacob*; which in the end after many trials, the *Venetians* granted; for having made truce with the *Turks*, and being left without excuse, they were ashamed to violate the faith of the League, so Earl *Charles* and *Deiphobus* with a considerable force of men at Arms being come and joined with as many as they could securely draw off from the Army; which under the Marquis of *Ferrara* opposed the Duke of *Calabria*; they marched towards *Pisa*, to find out the Lord *Robert*, who with his Forces lay near the river of *Serchio*, and though he made some appearance as though

though he would have stood the encounter, yet upon better thoughts he retired to *Lunigiana*, and took up his old quarters, where he lay before his attempt on *Pisa*: after his retreat Earl Charles recovered all the towns the enemy had taken in that Countrey, and the *Florentines* freed from alarms that way, rendezvoused their whole Force between *Colle* and *S. Gimignano*; but now there being in the Army by Charles his joining in it, people that had been train-up both under *Sforza* and *Braccio*, the ancient enmities soon revived, and many believed, had they continued longer together, it would have come to a mutiny; wherefore to choose the least of two evils, 'twas judged best to divide them, and send one party under Earl Charles to the Territory of *Perugia*, and let the other stay at *Paggibonzi*, where strongly entrenching themselves, they might prevent the enemy from entering the *Florentines* Countrey; they likewise had thoughts by this means to force the enemy to divide their Army; for they believed that either Count Charles might surprise *Perugia* (where they imagined they had many friends) or the Pope be constrained to send a strong party to defend it, they likewise gave order (to reduce the Pope into greater necessities) that *Messer Niccolò Vitelli* who had been expelled the City of *Castello*, where *Messer Lorenzo* his enemy was Governour, should with some considerable force approach the Town, and make

make trial if he could drive out his adversary, and rescue the Town from the Popes obedience; fortune in this beginning, seemed much to favour the *Florentine* affairs, for Earl Charles made great progress in the Territory of *Perugia*, and *Nicholas Vitelli*, (though he fail'd of getting entrance into *Castello*) yet he kept the Field, and spoil'd all the Countrey round about, without any opposition, and besides the party encamp'd at *Paggibonzi*, made incursions every day to the very walls of *Siena*; however in the conclusion all these hopes prov'd vain. In the first place Earl Charles in the dawn of his victories dyed, yet had his death better'd the *Florentine* affairs, had they known how to make use of the victory occasion'd by it; for as soon as the Popes Army (who were all drawn together at *Perugia*) had intelligence that the Earl was dead, they immediately entertained some hopes, that they might the easier oppress the *Florentine* Forces; whereupon taking the Field, they pitch'd their Camp upon the Lake within three miles of the enemy, on the other side *James Guiccardina*, who was Commissary of that Army by the counsel of *Robert Lord of Rimini*, who after Charles his death was the most reputed and experienced Captain remaining, easily conceiving the occasion of the enemies pride, resolv'd to stand them, and coming to an engagement near that Lake, where *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* gave that memorable defeat

defeat to the Romans, the Popes Forces were routed, the news of which victory coming to Florence, gave great reputation to the Leaders, and universal joy to the people, and certainly had redounded both to their honour and advantage in the whole progress of the war, had not the disorders which happened in the Camp at Poggibonzi disturbed the success of it; whereby what was gained by one Army, was more than lost by the other; for they having taken a prey from the *Sanesi*, there happened in the dividing of it, difference between the two Marquisses of *Ferrara* and *Mantoua*; so that, together by the ears they fell, and the mutiny though at last quieted, was so great that the *Florentines* perceiving that they could not employ both of them, consented that the Marquis of *Ferrara* should return home. That Army thus weakened, and without a head, fell into all manner of disorder; whereupon the Duke of *Calabria*, who lay encamped with his Army near *Sienna* took a resolution to beat up their Quarters, which was no sooner thought, but done; and the *Florentine* Forces no sooner heard of the enemies approach, but trusting neither to their Arms, nor to their multitude, much superiour to their enemies, nor to the situation of the place, which art and nature had fortified; without so much as staying to see their enemies, at the first appearance of the dust in the air, shamefully fled leaving their Ammunition, Carriages and

The shameful flight of the *Florentine* Camp.

and Artillery a prey to the enemy; such reproachful cowardise and disorder was in the Armies of those times; that the turning of one horse, either to charge or retreat, gave victory or defeat. This rout loaded the Kings Soldiers with plunder, and the *Florentines* with terrour; for their City was not only afflicted with the war, but miserably distressed with the plague, which had in a manner infected the whole City; so that the Citizens to flee from the contagion, retired to their Country towns: And that which made the defeat more dreadful, was, that those Citizens whose possessions lay in the Vales of *Pisa* and *Delfa*, being for fear of the plague gone thither, were for fear of another death, forced as suddenly with their goods and children to return to *Florence*; and every man stood in fear when the enemies would present themselves at the City gates. Those to whom the management of the war was committed, seeing these disorders, commanded those who had been victorious in the Country of *Perugia*, that leaving off their prosecution of the war in those parts, they should immediately march into the the Vale of *Delfa*, to oppose the enemy, who since the late defeats made their inrodes without any controul; and though they had so straitened the City of *Perugia*, that every hour they expected its surrender, yet the *Florentines* chose rather to defend their own Towns, than seek to possess them-

themselves of others. Thus that Army removed from the place of happy success, was brought to *S. Casciano*, a Castle within eight miles of *Florence*, it being thought impossible they could in any more distant Post rally the remains of their broken Army. Whilest in the mean time their enemies at *Perugia* being left free, and without opposers made great spoil in the Countrey about *Arezzo* and *Cortona*; and the other who under *Alfonso* Duke of *Calabria* had overcome at *Poggibonzi*, first seized on that town, and then on *Vico*, and sacking *Certaldo*, after these victories and desolations went and laid siege to the Castle of *Colle*, which in those times was accounted very strong, and might if the defenders proved faithful, have kept the enemy at a bay, till the *Florentines* had reinforced their Army, which they having at length compleated at *S. Casciano*, whilest the enemy made many furious assaults against *Colle*, they resolved to advance towards that place, to give the inhabitants courage to defend themselves, and by their presence somewhat allay the violence of the enemies: accordingly they dislodged from *S. Casciano*, and encamped at *S. Giminiano*, within five miles of *Colle*; whence with light Horse-men, and the nimblest of their Foot they dayly molested the Dukes Camp: but this relief was not sufficient for those of *Colle*, who wanting all provisions and necessaries, on the thirteenth of *November* yielded, to the great displeasure

displeasure of the *Florentines*, and joy of their enemies; especially the *Sanesi* who besides their common hate to the City of *Florence*, bore a private grudge to the inhabitants of *Colle*. Winter was now far advanced, and the season improper for war; whereupon the King and Pope either to give some hopes of peace, or to have the liberty to enjoy their victories more quietly, offered the *Florentines* a truce of three months, and gave them ten days time to return their answer, which was presently accepted of: but as it happens to all men, that wounds grieve more when the blood grows cold, than when they were first given; so this short repose made the *Florentines* more sensible of the miseries they had endured, and the Citizens freely, and without any respect accused one another, openly declaiming against the miscarriages of the war, the unnecessary and vain expences, and the Taxes unjustly imposed, which things were not only privately whispered in the corners of the streets, but publickly declared in the Councils, where one had the boldness to turn himself towards *Lorenzo de Medici*: and tell him, *This City is weary, and will have no longer war, and therefore you must of necessity consult of some way for peace*: Whereupon *Lorenzo* as sensible as any other of the necessity, assembled those of his friends, whom he believed most prudent and faithful; and first concluded (seeing the *Venetians* cold and faithless,

A Truce for
three
months.

The bold
speech of a
Citizen to
Lorenzo
Medici.

faithless, and the Duke a child, intangled with civil discords) that they must with new friends seek new fortunes: then they were very doubtful into whose Arms to cast themselves, the Popes or the Kings; but upon strict examination of particulars, they approved the Kings friendship, as more secure and stable, for the short lives of the Popes, the variety of succession, the little awe or fear the Church stood in of Princes, and its irresolutions in performance of any undertakings, are reasons why a secular Prince cannot have any intire confidence in a Pope, nor securely join fortunes with him, for whoever is the Popes friend in war and danger, shall have his company in victory, but in ruine or distress be left alone; the Pope being defended and supported by spiritual power and reputation. They therefore resolved it best to gain the Kings friendship, which they conceived could not better, nor with more certainty be done, than by *Lorenzo's* presence, for the more freedom and confidence they used towards the King, the more easily should they in his mind cancel former regrets; whereupon *Lorenzo* having settled this resolution in his mind, recommends the City and State to *Thomas Soderini* then *Gonfaloniere* of Justice, and in the beginning of *December* departs from *Florence*, and being arrived at *Pisa*, writes thence to the Senate, the occasion of his journey; and their Lordships to honour him, and that he might

might with the more reputation treat a peace with the King, they made him Ambassador for the *Florentine* people, giving him ample authority to enter into such Leagues, as he should judge best for the good of the Republick. During these Transactions, the Lord *Robert* of *San Severino* together with *Lewis* and *Ascanius* (for their brother *Sforza* was dead) made a fresh attempt on the State of *Milan* to regain the Government; and having surprised *Tortona* and *Milan*, and the whole Countrey being in Arms, the Dutchess was advised to restore the *Sforzi*, and to remove all cause of civil dissention, to admit them into the Government. The Author of this Counsel was *Antonio Tassino* of *Ferrara*, of a very mean descent; who coming to *Milan* was first entertained by Duke *Galeazzo*, and afterwards by him appointed Chamberlain to his Dutchess; where for the beauty of his body, or some other secret virtue, he after the Dukes death grew so much in favour with the Dutchess, that he in a manner governed the State, which extremely angered *Messer Cecco* a man of great prudence and experience, so that he strove as much as in him lay, both with the Dutchess and other Ministers of State, to lessen the Authority of *Tassino*; which he perceiving, in revenge of those injuries, and to have friends at hand that might defend him from *Messer Cecco*, he advised the Dutchess to restore the *Sforzi*;

The *Sforzi*
restored to
Milan.

Serezani
surprised by
the *Genouefe*.

who followed his Counsel without communicating any thing to *Messer Cecco*; whereupon he afterwards told her, You have done an action will deprive you of the Government, and me of my life; which not long after proved true; for *Messer Cecco* was by *Lewis* put to death, and *Tassino* soon after driven out of the Dutchy, at which the Dutchess was so grievously discontented, that departing from *Milan*, she renounced the Government of her young son to his uncle *Lewis*; and thus *Lewis* being left sole Governour of *Milan*, became, as shall afterwards be declared, the occasion of the ruine of *Italy*. *Lorenzo* was proceeded on his voyage to *Naples*, and the truce still in force, when beyond all expectation, *Lewis Fregoso* having intelligence with certain *Serezanesi*, privately conveyed some armed men into that town, and surprised it, taking all the *Florentines* prisoners. This accident highly displeased the heads of the *Florentine* State; who imagined all this done by order of King *Ferdinand*, and they sent messengers to the Duke of *Calabria*, who lay with the Army at *Sienna* in earnest manner complaining of their being thus, during the truce, assaulted; the Duke gave them all possible satisfaction both by Letters and Embassy, that it was done without his or his fathers consent or privity, which made the *Florentines* think their condition the worse, seeing their treasury was empty, the head of their State is

the Kings hands, an old war with the Pops and King, and a new one with the *Genouefe*, themselves friendless; for in the *Venetians* they had little hopes, and were fearful of the Governour of *Milan*, whom they knew various and inconstant. *Lorenzo* was by Sea arrived at *Naples*, where he was not only by the King, but by all that City, and with great expectations honourably received; for such a mighty war being raised only to oppress him, the greatness of his enemies made him be accordingly valued; but when he came into the Kings presence, and with him began to discourse of the State of *Italy*, the interests of its several Princes and people, and what they might hope from peace, and fear from war, that King having heard him, how sensibly he debated things, more now admired at the greatness of his mind, the readiness of his understanding, the gravity of his judgment, than he had before wondered how he was able to sustain so great a war, insomuch that he redoubled the honourable opinion he had of him, and began to contrive how he might gain him as a friend, rather than continue him an enemy. However upon various pretences and occasions he delayed the time from *December* to *March*, to make a double experience not of him only, but the City; for *Lorenzo* wanted no enemies in *Florence*, who would have been glad if the King had retained him, and served him like *Jacob Piccinino*;

Lorenzo de Medici honourably received by the King.

and under colour of fear, leaft any difaster fhould betide him, they vented their defires and wifhes through the whole City, and in publick debate opposed thofe that favoured *Lorenzo*. And by thefe fly ways they had fpread abroad a fame, that if the King kept him long at *Naples*, there would be a change of Government in *Florence*, which made the King fin out that time, to fee if there would happen any tumult in *Florence*; but feeing all things quiet, on the fixth of *March* 1479 he gave him lieve to depart, having firft endeavoured to oblige him by all kind of civilities and demonstrations of love; fo that there became contracted between them a perpetual friendship; for the mutual prefervation of the eftates: fo that if *Lorenzo* departed great from *Florence*, he returned greater thither, being received by the City with all that joy and gladnefs, which his excellent qualities, and new defervings might juftly challenge, having expofed his own life, to purchafe his Countreys peace: two days after his arrival, were published the Articles of peace between the King and Common-wealth of *Florence*, by which they mutually obliged themfelves in a league offensive and defensive; and that as for the towns taken from the *Florentines* in the late war, they fhould be left to the Kings difcretion, that the *Pazzi* fhould be releafed out of the Caftle of *Volterra*, and that for a certain time a certain fum of money fhould be paid to the Duke

Peace concluded with the King.

Duke of *Calabria*. This peace as foon as it was published, fretted both the Pope and the *Venetians*, for the Pope thought the King fhewed him but little refpect, and the *Venetians* thought the like of the *Florentines*; for both one and the other being concerned in the war, they believed it civil and juft, they fhould at leaft have been taken notice of in the peace. And no fooner was their indignation reported and believed in *Florence*, but all men grew jealous that the making of this peace would produce a greater war; whereupon the Heads of the States thought to limit the Government, and that important affairs fhould be managed by leffer numbers: to which end they constituted a Council of LXX Citizens, to whom they gave ample authority to determine matters of the higheft concern. This new Council ftopt the proceedings of thofe fought after novelties, and to gain themfelves reputation, they in the firft place allowed the peace made by *Lorenzo* with the King, they designed likewise *Mefſer Antonio Ridolfi*, and *Peter Naſi*, Ambaſſadors to the Pope. Nevertheless notwithstanding this peace *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Calabria* departed not with his Army from *Siena*, pretending he was ſtaid there by the difcords between thofe Citizens, which were fo high that whereas before he was lodged without the City, they called him in, and made him Umpire of their differences; which opportunity the Duke lay-

ing hold off, fined many Citizens in large sums of money, many he imprisoned, others he banished, and some he put to death: by which proceedings he raised a suspicion, not only in the *Sanesi*, but in the *Florentines* likewise, that he designed to make himself Prince of that City. Nor knew they which way to remedy it, finding their City but raw in the Kings friendship, and at enmity with the Pope and *Venetians*, which suspicion appeared not only in the generality of the people, (those subtle interpreters of all things) but in the heads of the *Florentine* State, and every one affirmed that the City was never in more danger of losing its liberty. But God who in all extremities ever had a particular care of it, sent an unhoped for accident, which employed the thoughts, both of the King, Pope and *Venetians*, upon higher concerns than the affairs of *Tuscany*. Mahomet the great Turk had with a mighty Army invaded *Rhodes*, and for many months closely besieged that Town, and though his Forces were great, his obstinacy and fury greater; yet he found the courage of the defendants greatest of all, who with so much valour defended themselves against his numerous assaults, that Mahomet was forced to raise his siege with disgrace. Leaving therefore *Rhodes*, part of his Armado, under Achomet Bassa, coming towards *Velona*, whether tempted by the facility of the enterprize, or so commanded by his Lord, he on a sudden Lands six thousand

Mahomet
repulsed at
Rhodes.

Achomet
Bassa lands
in Italy.

thousand men, and storming the City of *Otranto*, takes and sacks it, putting all the inhabitants to the sword. And then in the best manner he could fortifying himself in the City, and haven, and sending for a strong party of horse, makes inroads farther, spoiling and wasting all the adjacent Country. The King having notice of this invasion, and knowing well how great a Prince had undertaken it, dispatches away his Envoys to all places to demand assistance against the common enemy, and with great instance recalls the Duke of *Calabria* with his forces from *Siena*. This assault though it afflicted the Duke and all the rest of *Italy*, yet gave some comfort to *Florence* and *Siena*; these thinking they had regained their liberty, and those to have escaped the dangers, made them fear the loss of it; which increased the Dukes grief at his departure from *Siena*, who is said to have blamed fortune, that by so unexpected and irrational an accident had rob'd him of the Empire of *Tuscany*. This accident likewise made the Pope change his Counsels, and whereas before he would hearken to no *Florentine* Ambassador, he was now grown so mild, that he willingly listened to any thing proposed tending to an universal peace. Whereupon the *Florentines* were advertised, that whenever they were inclined to ask pardon of the Pope that they might have it granted; and they who thought not fit to let slip the occasion, sent

The Florentine Ambassadors admitted Audience by the Pope.

twelve Ambassadors to his Holiness, who after they arrived at Rome, were entertained with several debates and delays before they could get audience. At last all things were concluded between all parties, how they were to govern themselves for the future, and how much in peace and war they were to contribute. Then were the Ambassadors admitted to kiss the Popes feet, who attended them, seated in the midst of his Cardinals in great pomp and state. "They excused themselves for what was past, sometimes laying the blame upon necessity, and the malignity of others, sometimes upon the peoples fury, and their just anger, lamenting their condition, as men constrain'd to fight or dye; for that they had undergone the war, the excommunication, and all those inconveniencies that attended them only to preserve their City from slavery, which is a civil death. Notwithstanding (though they had only done what they were forced to) yet if they had committed any fault, they were ready to make amends, throwing themselves upon his mercy and clemency; hoping, after the Example of the great Redeemer, he would be ready to receive them into the arms of his compassion. To all which submission the Pope in terms full of pride and indignation returned answer. "Reproaching them with all they had in times past done against the Church, however in observance to Gods com-

The Popes answer to Ambassadors

"mands, he was content to grant them that pardon they desired, but they were to understand then, they ought likewise to obey; and when ever they forfeited that obedience, that liberty they had so lately hazarded, should then be quite taken away, and that justly; for they only deserve to be free that are good, not they who employ themselves in wicked exercises; liberty abused, being destructive to it self and others, and to have a light esteem of God, and a less of his Church, was not the part of a Free-man, but of a dissolute person whose inclination was bent rather to mischief than goodness, whom it is not only a Princes duty to correct, but every Christians; wherefore for what was past they must blame them, who by ill actions gave being to the War, and by worse nourished it, and if they were now freed from it, it was more by the goodness of others, than their desert. Then the Articles of peace, and the benediction was read, to which the Pope added beyond what had been agreed on and signed, that if the *Florentines* would enjoy the fruit of that benediction, they must maintain fifteen armed Gallies at their proper expence while the *Turks* made War in the Kingdom. The Ambassadors made heavy complaints against so great a burthen imposed beyond the agreement, but by no favour to others, or address made by themselves, could they get any alleviation of it,

it, but to ratifie this peace, the Senate sent Ambassador *Messer Guido Antonio Vespaeci*, sometimes before returned from France; who by his prudent management brought things to terms more supportable, and obtained many favours of the Pope, as a testimony of his full reconciliation. The *Florentines* having thus settled their affairs with the Pope, and *Siena* remaining free, and they out of fear of the King by the withdrawing of the Duke of Calabria's Army out of *Tuscany* to pursue the war against the *Turks*, they pressed the King very hard to restore those Castles of theirs, which the Duke of Calabria at his departure had left in the hands of the *Sanesi*, which the King consented to out of fear, lest otherwise the *Florentines* should in this necessity desert him, or else by commencing a new War with the *Sanesi* hinder him from those aids which he hoped to have from the Pope and other Princes of *Italy*; and so by a fresh obligation he engaged, the *Florentines* to him whereby it appears, that necessity and neither Articles nor Oaths make Princes honest. These Castles restored, and this new confederacy ratified *Lorenzo de Medici* regained all that reputation, which both during the war, and by the peace (while it hung doubtful) he had like to have lost; for in those times some men stuck not to scandalise him publickly, by saying that to save himself he had sold his Country, and that in the War they had lost their Towns,

Towns, and by the peace should loose their liberty; but those Towns restored, an honourable peace confirmed with the King, and the City returned to its former splendor now throughout all *Florence* (a tattling City, and apt to censure things by their success, and not by their Counsel) the story was quite changed, for now *Lorenzo* was exalted to the skies, and all the discourse was, how that by his prudence he had regained what the ill fortune of War had made them lose; and that his counsel and judgement was more prevalent than the power and arms of the Enemy. The invasion of the *Turks* had deferred that war, which the Pope and *Venetians* anger was yet to bring forth; but as the beginning of that assault was unhop'd for, and the cause of much good, so the end was unlooked for, and the occasion of much mischief, for *Mahomet* the great *Turk*, when it was least expected dying, and discord happening between his Children, those *Turks* in *Puglia* seeing themselves abandoned by their Lord upon Articles surrendred *Otranto* to the King. So the fear being removed, which kept the Pope and *Venetians* minds fixed, every man was apprehensive of new irruptions. On one side were in League the Pope and *Venetians*, and joyned with them were the *Genouese*, *Sanesi*, and other lesser Princes: On the other side were the *Florentines* King and Duke to whom adhered the *Bolonesi*, and many other Lords. The *Venetians*

Otranto surrendred by the *Turks*.

* visdomine,
or the De-
puties of
that Repub-
lick.

Provisions
for War in
Italy by the
two Leagues.

Venetians had a great desire to become Lords of *Ferrara*, and they though they had a reasonable pretence to attempt it, and certain hope to accomplish it: The occasion they took was because the *Marquis* affirmed he was no longer obliged to receive the *Visdomine** and their salt, for that the contract was, that after seventy years the City should be released of both those burthens; to which the *Venetians* made answer, That as long as he held the *Polesine*, so long he was to receive the *Visdomine* and the Salt; to which the *Marquis* refusing to yield, the *Venetians* thought they had just cause of a war, and a fit season to begin it in, seeing the Pope incensed against the King and *Florentines*, whom to ingratiate themselves the more with, Count *Girolamo* at his being at *Venice*, was by them very honourably received, and made a Gentleman of their City, which is accounted a great honour where-ever they bestow it. In order to preparing for this war, they had imposed a new subsidy, and chosen the Lord *Robert* of *San Severino* their General, who offended with *Lewis* Governour of *Milan* had fled to *Tortona*, and thence (having first raised some Tumults) proceeded to *Genova*, where now residing he was invired by the *Venetians* to accept of the command of their Armies. These preparations to new combustions being observed by the adverse League, made them also provide for War, and the Duke of *Milan*

Milan chose *Frederick*, Earl of *Urbini* for his General, and the *Florentines* *Constance* Lord of *Pesaro* for theirs. And to sound the Popes inclination, and satisfie themselves whether the *Venetians* made war upon *Ferrara* by his consent, King *Ferdinand* sent *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria* to the *Tronto*, to demand the Popes lieve to pass into *Lombardy* to aid the *Marquis*, which was by the Pope utterly denied. Whereby the King and the *Florentines* understanding his mind, resolved to straiten him with their Forces, and constrain him to become their friend; or at least prevent him from giving the *Venetians* any assistance; for these were already in the field, and had begun the war with the *Marquis*, having first wasted the Country, and then laid siege to *Figarola*, a Castle of great importance. The King and the *Florentines* having thus resolved upon a war with the Pope, *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria* made incursions towards *Rome*, and by the assistance of the *Colonnese* (who were joyned with him as the *Orsini* were with the Pope) made great spoil in the Country. And on the other side the *Florentines* with *Nicholas Vitelli* assaulted the City of *Castello*, driving thence *Messer Lorenzo*, who held it for the Pope, and making *Nicholas* Prince of it, the Pope, though in these great perplexities: The City of *Rome* in disorder within, and the Country wasted without, yet like a stout man, who would overcome and not yield to

to his enemies, entertained the Magnificent Robert of Rimini for his General, and he being come to Rome, where all the Church forces were drawn together; the Pope declared to him how much it would rebound to his Honour, if by opposing the Kings Forces he could deliver the Church from the troubles it was involved in, which would be an obligation, not only binding to him, but to all his successors; nay, not only to men, but to God himself; The Magnificent Robert of Rimini having first taken a view of all the Popes men at Arms, and other warlike furniture, advised him to raise as many Foot as he could, which with all speed and diligence was put in execution. The Duke of Calabria lay then so near Rome, that every day he made incursions to the very Gates of the City, which so incensed the Roman people, that they willingly offered themselves to serve under Robert for the delivery of the City, and were all by him received with thanks and praise. The Duke hearing of these great preparations, drew a little farther off, thinking the Lord of Rimini would not venture too far to find him out, and besides he expected his Brother Frederick with new recruits from his Father. Robert seeing his men at Arms near equalled the Dukes, and that in foot he was much superiour, marches upon a sudden out of Rome, and pitches his Camp within two miles of the Enemy; the Duke seeing the enemy on the back of him so

con-

contrary to his expectation, found there was no other way now but to fight or flee. And that he might not do any thing unworthy the son of a King, resolving to fight, he faces the enemy; and both Armies being put into such order, as in those times was usual, advanced to the Battail, which lasted from morning till noon. This day there was more valour showed than had been in any encounter for fifty years past in Italy, for on both sides, there was above a thousand men slain, and the issue was glorious for the Church, for the multitudes of the Popes foot did so gall the Dukes horse, that they were forced to give ground, and the Duke himself had been taken prisoner, had he not been saved by those Turks, who being left at Otranto served now under him. The Magnificent Robert having gained this Victory, returned in triumph to Rome, but he enjoyed it but a short time, for having in the heat of the Battail drunk too much water, it put him into a flux, of which in fews days he dyed, whose body was by the Pope interred with all extraordinary circumstances of honour. The Pope having obtained this Victory, immediately dispatches away the Earl towards the City of Castello, to endeavour the restoration of that City to Lorenzo, and partly indeed to try the City of Rimini; for Robert his late General having left behind him only a young Infant under the tuition of his Mother; the Pope thought it an

easie

The Kings
Forces de-
feated by the
Popes.

Death of
Robert de Ri-
mini the
Popes Gene-
ral.

easy matter to snatch his inheritance from him, which he had certainly done, had not the *Florentines* defended the Lady, and in such manner opposed his forces, that he could do no good, neither against *Rimini*, nor *Castello*. Whilst these troubles were at *Rome*, and in *Romagnia*; the *Venetians* having taken *Figorola*, and with their forces passed the *Po*; and the Duke of *Milan*, and the Marquis his Camp were both in disorder: For *Frederick* Lord of *Urbino* falling sick, caused himself to be carryed to *Bologna*, where he dyed: So that the Marquis his affairs every day declined, and the *Venetians* hourly encreased their hopes of gaining *Ferrara*. On the other side, the King and *Florentines* used all their endeavours to gain the Pope to their will, and since they could not do it by force; they threatned him with a general Council, which the Emperor had declared should be held at *Basil*. Whereupon by mediation of the Emperours Ambassadors, and intercession of the principal Cardinals who desired peace, the Pope was partly forced, and partly perswaded to consider of peace, and the union of *Italy*: So that both for fear and out of consideration, that the greatness of the *Venetians* was the ruine of the Church and of *Italy*, he consented to agree with the League, and sent his Ambassadors to *Naples*, where a League for five years was concluded between the King, Pope, Duke of *Milan*, and *Florentines*, reserving a place for the

Death of
Frederick
Lord of
Urbino.

The Pope
joins with
the League.

the *Venetians*, if they pleased to accept it; which perfected, the Pope signified to the *Venetians* that they should desist from the War with *Ferrara*. To which the *Venetians* refused to consent; but with greater forces prepared for the War; and having defeated the Dukes and Marquis his forces at *Argenta*, were approached so near *Ferrara*, that they had pitcht their Camp in the Marquis his Park. Whereupon the League thought it not convenient any longer to delay giving more powerful assistance to that Lord, and to that end caused the Duke of *Calabria* with his and the Popes forces to march towards *Ferrara*, the *Florentines* sent their Troops likewise; and the better to dispense Orders of War, the League held a Council at *Cremona*, where assembled the Popes Legate, the Earl *Girolamo*, the Duke of *Calabria*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Milan*, and *Lorenzo de Medici*, with many other *Italian* Princes, where they settled the measures, and devised the Order of the future War. And because they were of opinion that *Ferrara* could not be better relieved, than by making a gallant diversion, they would have the Lord *Lewis* declare war against the *Venetians* in behalf of the Estates of the Duke of *Milan*, but that Lord would not give his consent, fearing to bring a war upon his own head, he could not, when he pleased, get rid off; whereupon they resolved to advance with their whole Army to *Ferrara*, and drawing

together four thousand men at arms, and eight thousand foot, they went to seek the *Venetians*, who had two thousand and two hundred men at arms, and six thousand foot. The League thought it convenient in the first place to assail the Fleet, which the *Venetians* had on the *Po*, which they did, giving the assault at *Bondeno*, to the destruction of two hundred Vessels, where *Messer Antonio Justianiano*, Providitor General was taken prisoner. The *Venetians* seeing all *Italy* combined to ruine them, to add to their reputation, entertained the Duke of the *Rhene*, with two hundred men at arms into their service; whom (now their Fleet was destroyed) they sent with part of their Army to keep the enemy at a Bay, causing the Lord Robert of *San Severino* to pass the *Adda*, with the remainder of the Army, and marching up to the Walls of *Milan*, proclaim the Duke and the Lady *Bona* his Mother: for they thought by this way to work some change in *Milan*, thinking the Lord *Lewis* and his Government were hated by the *Millanesi*. This alarm occasioned at first some disorder, and made the City arm. But in the conclusion, produced an effect quite contrary to the *Venetian* design; for what the Lord *Lewis* would not before agree to, this affront makes him eager to perform: and therefore leaving the Marquis of *Ferrara* to defend himself with four thousand horse, and two thousand foot; the Duke of *Calabria* with twelve thousand horse,

horse, and five thousand foot entred *Bergamasco*, and thence passed into the Country of *Brescia*, and so to *Verona*, spoiling, ruining and destroying the whole Country adjacent to those three Cities, in the spite of the *Venetians*, who could no way help it; for the Lord Robert with all his forces could hardly save the Cities themselves. On the other side, the Marquis of *Ferrara* had recovered many places, formerly his; for the Duke of the *Rhene*, who was left to attend him, durst not oppose him, having but two thousand horse, and a thousand foot: and thus all that Summer of the year 1483, the affairs of the league prospered. In the following Spring (for the Winter was past without any action) both Armies drew into the Field, and the League that they might the better oppress the *Venetians*, had drawn all their Army together, and might (easily had the war been maintained as it was the year before) have driven the *Venetians* quite out of *Lombardy*; for they were reduced to six thousand horse, and five thousand foot (the Duke of *Rhene* his year expired being gone home) and the enemy had thirteen thousand horse, and six thousand foot: but as it often happens, where there are many Rivals in Authority, their piques and jealousies give victory to the enemy; so *Frederick Gonzaga*, Marquis of *Mantona* being dead, (who with his Authority kept the Duke of *Calabria*, and the Lord *Lewis* united) there

Lewis Sforza concludes a private peace with the Venetians.

happened several differences between them, which created jealousies and suspicions; for *John Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan* being now at age to govern; and having married the Daughter of the Duke of *Calabria*, desired that his father in Law, rather than *Lewis* might manage affairs of State. And *Lewis*, sensible of this his desire, resolved to deprive him of the power of executing it. This heart-burning of *Lewis's* was known to the *Venetians*, who laid hold on the opportunity, judging they might, as always they had done, gain more by peace, than they had lost by war: and privately treating with the Lord *Lewis*, came to an agreement August 1484. Which when the other confederates knew, they were much displeased; especially when they perceived the *Venetians* were to have all the towns taken from them restored, and still possess *Rovigo* and *Polisena*, which they had taken from the Marquis of *Ferrara*; and besides, enjoy all those preheminencies they formerly did over that City; for every one was now sensible they had begun a war with vast expence, and in the prosecution of it had gained honour, but in the end shame; since they were to restore the towns taken, and had not recovered those lost; but the Colleagues were constrained to accept it, both because they were weary of the expence, and because they would no farther try their fortune with deceitful and ambitious men. Whilest affairs were in this posture

posture in *Lombardy*, the Pope by his Forces commanded by *Messer Lorenzo*, besieged the City of *Castello*, to drive thence *Nicholas Vitelli*, whom the League to bring the Pope to a compliance had deserted; whilst he lay before the town, the Garrison which kept it for *Nicholas*, made a sally and quite routed the enemy; whereupon the Pope recalled Earl *Girolamo* from *Lombardy* to *Rome*, to recruit his Forces, and renew the siege; but upon maturer deliberation, thinking it better to gain Mr. *Nicholas* by peace, than again provoke him by war, he made the best agreement he could for himself, and reconciliation between *Nicholas* and his adversary *Lorenzo*, to which fear of new tumults, and not love of peace disposed him; for he saw ill humours growing to a head between the *Colonnese* and *Orsini*. The King of *Naples* had taken from the *Orsini* in the war between him and the Pope the County of *Tagliacazzo*, and given it to the *Colonnese* who adhered to him; afterwards peace being made between the Pope and King, the *Orsini* by virtue of the Articles demanded it; the Pope often signified to the *Colonnese*, that they should restore it, but they would not condescend to a restoration, either at the *Orsini's* demand, or the Popes threatening, but invaded the *Orsini* afresh with depredations, and other like injuries; which the Pope no longer able to suffer, raised all his Forces, and joined them with the *Orsini* to reduce them, and those houses

The Arch-
bishop of
Genova
makes him-
self Prince.

The Pope
dyes.

they had in *Rome* sack'd, killing or taking those that strove to defend them, and seizing most of their Towns and Castles; so that on one side these tumults ended, not by desire of peace, but by reason of their being too heavily oppressed and afflicted. Things were not yet quiet in *Genova* and *Tuscany*, for the *Florentines* kept the Earl *Antonio de Marciano*, with his Forces on the Frontiers of *Serezana*; and whilst the war was in *Lombardy*, with incursions and other light skirmishes molested the *Serezanese*; and in *Genova* *Battistino Fregoso* Doge of that City, trusting in *Paul Fregoso* Archbishop, was with his wife and family taken by him, who made himself Prince; likewise the *Venetians* invaded the Kingdom by Sea, took *Gallipoli*, and infested the adjacent Country; but peace made in *Lombardy*, all war ceased, save the tumults in *Tuscany* and *Rome*; for five days after the peace made, the Pope dyed, whether his natural term of life were expired, or whether grief for the peace, to which he was a profest enemy, broke his heart. However that Pope left *Italy* in peace, which all his life time he had kept in war. No sooner was he dead, but all *Rome* was in arms, the Earl *Girolamo* retired with his men into the Castle, and the *Orsini* were fearful lest the *Colonnese* should revenge their late injuries; the *Colonnese* demanded restitution of their Houses and Castles; whereupon in few days succeeded Slaughter, Robberies and Burnings in many

ny places of the City; but the Cardinals having perswaded the Earl to restore the Castle into the hands of the Conclave, and to retire into his own estates, and remove his Forces from *Rome*, he, to gratifie the Pope that should next succeed, obeyed, and surrendring the Castle to the Conclave, went to *Imola*; whereby the Cardinals delivered from this fear, and the Barons from the hopes they had of his assistance in their differences, they proceeded to the election of a new Pope, and after much dispute chose *John Battista Cibo* Cardinal of *Malsetta* a *Genouese*, who called himself *Innocent* the Eighth, who by fair and gentle means (for he was a kind and quiet man) made all parties lay down Arms, and for a while pacified *Rome*. The *Florentines* after the peace of *Lombardy* could not be quiet, esteeming it a base and shameful thing that a private Gentleman should take from them the Castle of *Serezana*; and because by the Articles of peace, they were not only to demand things lost, but by force constrain those impeded or denyed their restoration, they presently levied men and money to regain that Castle; whereupon *Augustine Fregoso*, supposing with his private power he should not be able to defend it, gave that town to *S. George*: but because *S. George* of *Genova* has often been mentioned, I think it not amiss to shew the orders and rules of that City, being one of the principal of *Italy*. When the *Genouese* had made

Pope Innocent the Eighth.

The original
of S. George
of Genoa.

peace with the *Venetians* after that important war, which long since happened between them, the City not able to satisfy those vast sums of money they had borrowed from several Citizens, consigned to them the receipts of the Customs, that according to their several sums lent, they might divide that Revenue amongst them, till they were fully satisfied, and that they might meet together, they assigned them the Palace over the Custom-house. These Creditors settled a rule and order amongst themselves, making a Council of a hundred of them, who were to debate all publick matters, and a Magistracy of eight, who as heads were to execute; and their Credits they divided into parts, which they called *Luoghi* or shares, and their whole body they entituled *S. George*. Their Government thus ordered, it happened that the City in general again stood in need; whereupon they had recourse to *S. George*, which being rich, and their stock well managed could supply them, and the Commonalty as they had at first granted the Custom, began now in pawn of the money to grant their lands; and so far proceeded it by reason of the common necessities, and the supplies of *S. George*, that that order had most of the Towns and Lands formerly subject to the *Genouese* submitted to them, and they governed and defended them; and every year by publick vote sent their *Re-tors*, and the Commonalty of the City was

was no way concerned. Whence it comes that those Citizens have taken away their love to the rules of the Commonalty as a thing usurped, and tyrannized, and placed it on *S. George*, as a rule well and equally administered; whence arrives the frequent and easie change of Government, and that sometimes they obey a Citizen, sometimes a stranger; for not *S. George*, but the Commonalty changes Government: wherefore when the *Fregosi* and *Adorni* contended for the principality, because they fought for the Government in common, the greatest part of the City stood neutral, & left it a prey to the Conquerour: all the office of *S. George* does, is, when any one has gained the Government, to make him swear observation of their Laws, which from the first institution till now, were never altered; for having the Arms, Money and Government in their possession, they cannot without certain danger of a Rebellion be altered; an example indeed rare, and which Philosophers with all their imaginations and chimera's of Common-wealths never found out to hold within the same circle, and among the same number of Citizens, Liberty and Tyranny, civil Order and Corruption, Justice and Licentiousness; for that order alone maintains the City in its ancient and venerable customs. And if it happens, as in time certainly it will, that *S. George* is possessed of the whole City, that Republick will be more memorable than the

War be-
tween Flo-
rence and
Genova.

the *Venetian*. To this order of *S. George*, *Augustine Fregoso* gave the City of *Serezana*, who willingly received it, and undertaking its defence, presently fitted out a Fleet to Sea, and sent a Garrison to *Pietra Sancta*, to hinder any passage to the *Florentine* Camp, which already lay near *Serezana*: the *Florentines* on the other side were desirous to have *Pietra Sancta*; for whilst that Town was out of their possession, the gaining of *Serezana* would not be so advantageous, *Pietra Sancta* being placed between that and *Pisa*, but they could not reasonably lay siege to it, unless first they were by those of *Pietra Sancta* impeached in the reducing *Serezana*: and that this might happen, they sent from *Pisa* to the Camp great stores of Provision and Ammunition with a very weak convoy, that the greatness of the prey, and slenderness of the Guard, might make those of *Pietra Sancta* less fearful to seize it; the plot succeeded to their wish, for those in *Pietra Sancta* seeing before their eyes so great a prize, took it, and gave the *Florentines* the occasion they desired to assault them; wherefore leaving *Serezana* they besieged *Pietra Sancta* which was well manned and bravely defended: the *Florentines* having their Artillery at first on the plain, raised after a Bulwark on the hill, hoping from thence to batter them; *James Guiccardine* was now Commissary of the Army, and whilst he besieged *Pietra Sancta*, the *Genouese* Fleet took and burnt the

Pietra Sancta
besieged.

the Fortress of *Vada*, and landing some of their men, robbed and spoiled the Country; against whom with a party of Horse and Foot *Messer Buongianni Gianfigliuzzi* was sent, who in part checked their pride, that they could not so freely forrage. But the *Genouese* Navy continuing to molest the *Florentines* went to *Leghorne*, and with great broad bridges and other Engines approached the new Tower, which for many days they battered with their Artillery, but seeing they could do no good, went away with shame. In the mean time they pursued the siege at *Pietra Sancta* so coldly, that the besieged taking heart, stormed their Bulwark, and took it, so much to their own reputation, and terror of the *Florentine* Army, that they were ready to disband of themselves; insomuch that being drawn four miles off from the Town, the chief Commanders seeing it was already *October*, thought it best to draw the Army into winter Quarters, and defer the siege till Spring. When this disorder was heard at *Florence*, the heads of the State were filled with indignation & presently (to restore the Camp to its credit and power,) chose for new Commissaries *Antonio Pucci* and *Bernardo del Nero*, who with a great sum of money went to the Camp, and declared to the Captains the anger of the whole Senate, the Magistrates and City, and how much more they would be incensed, if they returned not to the

the walls of the Town, and what an infamy it would be to them; that so many Captains, and so great an Army having no more but a small Garrison to withstand them, could not take so poor and pitiful a town; they set forth likewise the present advantage, and what in the future they might hope from the taking of it: with these persuasions they heartned them to return to the walls, and first of all resolved to storm the Bulwark. In the gaining of which, it was observable how much courtesie, affability, kind and obliging words will work upon Soldiers, for *Antonio Pucci* by encouraging one, promising another, and embracing a third, made them with such fury storm the Bulwark, that in a moment they took it; yet was it not got without loss, for Count *Antonio Marciano* was slain with a piece of Artillery. However this victory struck such a terror into those of the town, that they began to treat of a surrender; whereupon, that the matter might be concluded with more reputation, *Lorenzo de Medici* came to the Camp, not many days after whose arrival, the Castle was gained. 'Twas now Winter, and therefore the Commanders of the Army thought not fit to proceed farther, but retire to Quarters till Spring, especially since that Autumns unwholesome air had much wasted the Army, many of the Captains being grievously sick, among whom *Antonio Pucci* and *Bongianni*

Pietra Santa
taken.

Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi not only sickened, but dyed, to the great grief of all men; so much love had *Antonio Pucci* gained by his carriage at *Pietra Santa*. The *Lucchesi*, now the *Florentines* had taken *Pietra Santa*, sent their Ambassadors to *Florence*, to demand it as a Town formerly belonging to their State; for they alleadged by the Articles of the late peace, they were obliged to restore to their first Lord all those Towns were recovered of another. The *Florentines* did not deny the Article, but answered that in the treaty of peace between them and the *Genouese*, they did not know, but they must be bound to restore it to them, and therefore, till then could determine nothing, and if they were to restore it, yet the *Lucchesi* would do well to consider how to satisfy the charge they had been at, and the damage they had sustained by the death of so many of their Citizens; and when that was done they might be in some hopes of the Town. All this Winter was spent in a treaty of peace between the *Florentines* and *Genouesi*, which the Pope had set on foot, but nothing being concluded, the *Florentines* had in the Spring besieged *Serezana*, had not the sickness of *Lorenzo de Medici*, and the war between the Pope and King *Ferdinand* hindered them: for not only the Gout which he had hereditary from his father afflicted *Lorenzo*, but he was tormented with violent pains in the stomach, so that he was forced

*Aquila re-
bels from
the King of
Naples.*

forced to go to the waters for a cure. But the most important hindrance was the war, of which this was the original cause. The City of *Aquila* was in such a degree subject to the King of *Naples*, that they in a manner lived free; the Earl of *Montorio* was in great reputation there. The Duke of *Calabria* being with his men at Arms near the *Tronto*, under pretence of quieting some tumults, raised among the Country-people, and designing to reduce *Aquila* under the Kings absolute obedience, sent for the Earl of *Montorio*, as though he would employ him about what he had then in hand. The Earl without any suspicion obeyed and came, and was immediately by the Duke made prisoner, and sent to *Naples*. This was no sooner heard at *Aquila*, but the whole City was incensed at it, and tumultuously slew *Antonio Concinello* the King's Commissary, and with him several other Citizens, known favourers of the Kings; and that the *Aquilani* might have a defender in their Rebellion, they set up the banners of the Church, and sent Ambassadors to the Pope, to give him their City and themselves, entreating him as his own to defend them against the Kings tyranny. The Pope gladly and resolutely undertook their defence, for both upon publick and private accounts he hated the King: and Lord Robert of *San Seuerino* enemy to the State of *Milan* being out of pay, he chose him his General, and sent for

for him in all haste to *Rome*, and besides solicited all Count *Montorio's* friends and relations to rebel against the King, so that the Princes of *Altemura Salerno* and *Bisignano* took Arms. The King seeing himself assaulted with so sudden a war, sends for aid to the Duke and *Florentines*: the *Florentines* stood in doubt what to do, for they thought it hard to leave off their own affairs to follow others, and again to take up Arms against the Church, they thought dangerous, yet being in a League they valued their word and faith above interest or danger, and therefore entertained the *Orsini* in their pay, and besides sent the Earl of *Pitigliana* with all their Forces towards *Rome* to assist the King: wherefore the King raised two Armies, one under the Duke of *Calabria*, which he sent towards *Rome*, who joining with the *Florentine* Forces were to oppose the Church, and with the other under his Command, he marched towards his Barons; in both places the accidents of war were various, but in the conclusion the King remaining victor in all parts; in *August* 1486 by mediation of the Ambassadors of *Spain*, a peace was concluded; to which the Pope (who would no longer encounter his adverse fortune) consented: by this peace all the potentates of *Italy* were united, except the *Genouese* who were left out as Rebels against the State of *Milan*, and usurpers of the *Florentine* towns. The Lord Robert of *San Seuerino*

rino, when this peace was concluded (having been, during the War, a faithless friend to the Pope, and to the others no formidable enemy) driven away by the Pope, marching from *Rome*, and being pursued by the Dukes and *Florentine* Forces, seeing himself, as he was passed *Cesena*, overtaken, fled, and with fewer than one hundred horse recovered *Bologna*, and of his other forces part were received by the Duke, and the remainder routed and plundered by the Country. The King having concluded the peace, and reconciled himself with the Barons, put to death *John Coppola*, and *Antonella* of *Anversa* with his sons, for having, during the war, kept intelligence with the Pope. The Pope by this war had learned how punctual and diligent the *Florentines* were in observing their word, and preserving their friendship; insomuch, that whereas before he hated them, he now began to love them; and to confer greater favours on them, and more kindly treat their Ambassadors then usually he had done, which inclination once known to *Lorenzo Medici*, was by all possible industry encouraged, for he thought it would be much for his reputation, if to the Kings friendship he could add that of the Pope. The Pope had one son called *Francis*, and being desirous to honour him with Estates and Friends, that he might after his death maintain himself, he could not pitch upon any in *Italy*, with whom he might more safely

safely make an alliance than *Lorenzo de Medici*, wherefore he contrived that *Lorenzo* gave him one of his daughters to wife. The Pope was desirous that the *Genoveses* should peaceably surrender *Serezana* to the *Florentines*, telling them they could pretend no right to keep it by *Augustine's* sale, nor could *Augustine* give *St. George* what was none of his own: but however he could do no good of it; for the *Genoveses*, (whilst these things were in treaty in *Rome*) armed many of their Vessels; and whilst at *Florence* they thought nothing of it, set a shore three thousand foot, and assaulted the Castle of *Serapollenella*, seated above *Serezana*, &c in the *Florentines* possession, and took and plundered and burnt the Borrough adjoining, and afterwards planting their Artillery against the Castle, battered it with great fury. This attempt was strange and unlookt for by the *Florentines*, whereupon they presently rallied their Forces under *Virginio Orsini* at *Pisa*, and made their complaints to the Pope, that during the treaty of peace, the *Genoveses* had acted these Hostilities. Then they sent *Peter Corsini* to *Lucca* to keep that City faithful, and *Paul Antonio Soderini* they sent to *Venice*, to sound the minds of that Republick; they likewise required, aid from the King and Lord *Lewis*, but had none from either: For the King excused himself that he stood in fear of the Turks Fleet, and *Lewis* with tricks and cavils delayed them. Thus the *Florentines* were for the

most part left alone in all their wars, not finding others so ready to assist them, as they were to give aid to their Friends. Nor were they now (for 'twas no new thing) dismayed, because their friends failed them: but raising a great army under *James Guiccardine*, and *Peter Vettori* sent them against the enemy, who encamped upon the River *Magra*. Mean while the *Genouese* straightly besieged *Serezanello*, and by undermining, and all other ways endeavoured to gain it, wherefore the Commissaries resolving to relieve it, the enemies refused not the Battail, but in the engagement the *Genouese* were routed, and *Lodovick of Fresco*, & many other Commanders taken prisoners: yet this Victory did not so terrifie the *Serezanesi*, that they would yield but obstinately prepared for their defence and the Commissaries to offend, so that it was bravely assaulted and defended: but the siege continuing long, *Lorenzo de Medici* resolved to go to the Camp, where his arrival so encouraged our Soldiers, & disheartned the *Serezanesi*, that seeing the resolution of the *Florentines* in assailing them, and the coldness of the *Genouese* to relieve them they freely without any conditions surrendered themselves to *Lorenzo*, and were by the *Florentines*, except some few heads of the rebellion, kindly received and treated. During this siege the Lord *Lewis* had sent some forces to *Pontremoli* to make show of assisting us; but having private intelligence in *Genoua*, he caused an insurrection to be made against the government,

Serezans
taken,

And *Genoua*
reduced under
the Duke.

and

and by the help of his party, reduced it under the Dutchy of *Milan*. In these times there happen'd war between the *Germans* and *Venetians*, and in *La Marca Boccacino* of *Osimo* had made that Town rebel against the Pope, and usurped the tyranny; but after many accidents he was content by the perswasion of *Lorenzo de Medici*, to restore that Town to the Pope, and coming to *Florence* under *Lorenzo's* protection lived a long time honourably, but afterwards going to *Milan*, found not the same faith, for he was by Lord *Lewis* put to death. The *Venetians* were by the *Germans* defeated near the City of *Trent*, and the Lord *Robert* of *San Severino* their General slain. After many losses the *Venetians* with their usual fortune made a peace with the *Germans*, not as people overcome, but as if they had been conquerours, so honourable was it on their side. About these times likewise happened two considerable Tumults in *Romania*. *Francis d' Orso* was a man of great authority in the City of *Furli*, of whom Count *Girolamo* growing jealous, had often threatened him. Whereupon *Francis* living in great fear, was advised by his friends and relations to provide for his own safety, and since he was threatened, to kill first, and by the death of the Earl free himself from danger. Having consulted hereupon, and firmly resolved it, he made choice of his time on a market-day at *Furli*, for on that day many other of their friends coming thither

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thet

ther out of the Country; they thought they might without a summons have them to serve their occasions. It was in the month of *May*, and it being the *Italian's* usual custom to sup by day-light; the Conspirators thought it the best time to kill him after supper, at which time, while his Family were at supper, he was often in a chamber alone: having agreed on this, *Francis* went at the appointed time, and leaving his Companions in the outward rooms went to the Earls Chamber, and bid one of the attendants tell him he was there to speak with him. *Francis* was admitted, and after some feigned discourse suddenly slew him, and calling in his companions killed likewise the Groom of his Chamber. The Governour of the Town coming by chance to speak with the Earl, was by the Murderers with his few followers in the Hall slain. These Murders committed, the Earls body was thrown out of the window, and Proclamation made The Church and liberty; and all the people gathered to arms (for they hated the Earls avarice and cruelty) and sackt his house, and made prisoners the Countess *Catherine*, and her Children: there remained only the taking of the Castle to perfect their design, which the Governour refusing to yield, they dealt with the Countess to dispose him to it, which she promised to do, if they would let her go in, leaving her Children in Hostage: The Conspirators believed her, and let her

Earl *Giovanni* slain.

go in; but instead of delivering it, she then threatned them with death, and all manner of torments in revenge of her husband; and they threatning to kill her children: she told them she had the mold about her to make more in. Whereat the Conspirators daunted, seeing the Pope owned them not, and heard the Lord *Lewis*, Uncle to the Countess, was sending forces to her relief, taking with them all the riches they could carry, they fled to the City of *Castello*. Whereupon the Countess recovering the State, with all imaginable cruelty revenged her husbands death. The *Florentines* hearing of the Earls death, took the opportunity to recover the Castle of *Piancaldoli*, which the Earl had formerly took from them; but now sending their forces (with the death of *Ciecco*, the famous Architect,) they recovered it: Besides this, there happened another Tumult in *Romania* of no less importance. *Galeotto*, Lord of *Faenza* had married the Daughter of *John Bentivogli*, Prince of *Bolonia*, she either out of jealousy, or because she was ill used by her husband, hated him to that degree, that she resolved to take from him both estate and life, and counterfeiting a sickness, she resolved that *Galeotto*, coming to visit her, should be murdered by some of her confederates hid in the Chamber. She had communicated this design to her Father, who was in hopes after death of his son-in-law to become Lord of *Faenza*. The time

Galeotto
Lord of Fa-
enza mur-
dered.

appointed for this murder being come, *Galeotto* went into his wives Chamber according to his usual custom, and beginning to talk with her, the murderers came suddenly out of their holes, and before he could make any defence slew him. After his death the Tumult was great, the Lady with her young son, called *Astore*, fled to the Castle; the people took arms, and *Messer John Bentivoglio*, with one *Bergamino*, an Officer of the Duke of *Milans*, having before prepared a party, entred into *Faenza*, where was likewise *Antonio Boscoli*, the Florentine Commissary: All these principal men being assembled together, discoursing about the Government of the Town, the Inhabitants of the Vale of *Lamona*, who upon the uproar were tumultuously run thither, falling upon *Messer John* and *Bergamino*, slew the last, and took the first prisoner; and proclaiming the name of *Astore*, and the Florentines recommended the City to their Commissary. Intelligence thereof being come to *Florence*, the accident displeased every one; yet they set at liberty *Messer John* and his Daughter, and undertook the care of *Astore* and the City, by general consent of the people: Besides these (though the main wars among greater Princes were composed) there was every year some tumults in *Romania*, *La Marca* and *Siena*, which being of little importance, I count it superfluous to relate. It is true that in *Siena*, since the departure of the Duke of *Calabria* from

from the war in 88. they were very frequent, and after many variations (for sometimes the Nobles, and sometimes the People governed) the Nobility remained Superiours, among whom those of greatest Authority were *Pandolpho* and *Jacob Petrucci*, one of whom by his prudence, and the other by his courage became as it were Princes of that City. But the Florentines after the war of *Serozana*, till the death of *Lorenzo de Medici*; 1492. lived in the height of all felicity; for *Lorenzo* seeing all Arms in *Italy* laid by, which by his Wisdom and Authority had been effected, applied himself to make himself and his City great, marrying *Peter* his Eldest Son to *Alfonsina* Daughter of *Cavallier Orsini*: Then *John* his second Son he advanced to the degree of a Cardinal; so much the more notable, because beyond all former Examples he was not above thirteen years of age, when he was advanced to that high degree, which was a Ladder for his House, to ascend by, as afterwards happened. *Julian* his third Son being so very young at his Father's Death, he could not provide with any extraordinary Fortune: Of his Daughters, one was married to *James Salvati*, another to *Francis Cibo*, a third to *Peter Ridolfi*; but the fourth whom, to keep his House united, he would have married to *John de Medici*, died: In other his private affairs, especially as to Merchandize, he was unhappy, for the disorders of

Lorenzo de Medici, his advancement of his Children and his other excellent Vertues.

those he intrusted, who lived not like Factors but Princes, in many places wasted his Estate, so that his Country was fain to supply him with great sums of money; wherefore resolving no more to tempt Fortune, he forbore to trade, but as the more stable Riches, applied himself to purchase Lands, and in the *Pratese*, *Pisano*, and the Vale of *Pisa* had large Possessions, with Palaces more becoming a Prince than a private Citizen. Then he addressed himself to beautifie and enlarge his City, and that he might live more quiet in the State, and fight with his Enemies at greater distance, towards *Bolonia*, in the middle of those *Alpes* he fortified the Castle of *Firenzuola*. Towards *Siena*, he began to repair the Imperial Hill, and made it almost impregnable, and the way towards *Genova* he had blocked up by taking *Pietra Sancta* and *Serezana*. Then with Pensions and Allowances he maintained himself Friends abroad; the *Baglioni* in *Perugia*, the *Vitelli* in the City of *Castello*, and had himself the particular Government of *Faenza*, all which were strong Bulwarks to his City. And in these peaceable Times he was continually diverting the City with Feasts and Triumphs, exhibiting Jufts and Tournaments, and several Representations of Ancient Actions, his cheif end in which was to make the City populous, keep these people united, and make the Nobility be honoured. He was an extreme lover of any man excellent in any Art,

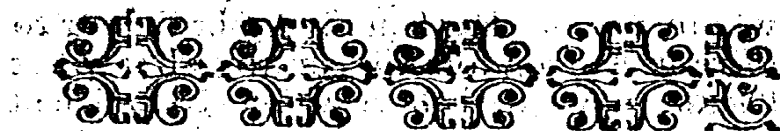
Art, of which *Agnola* of *Montepulciano*, *Christopher Landini*, and *Demetrius Greco* may give ample Testimony. Besides Earl *John* of *Mirandula*, a Man almost Divine, leaving all other Parts of *Europe* which he had travelled through, moved by the Magnificence of *Lorenzo*, chose his residence in *Florence*. He was exceedingly delighted in Architecture, Musick, and Poetry; many Poetical compositions being extant, not only of his composure, but which he had commented upon: And to encourage the Youth of *Florence* to the study of Learning, he erected an University at *Pisa*, and brought thither all the most famous men then in *Italy*: He built a Monastery near to *Florence* for Father *Moriano* of *Chinazano* of the Order of *St. Austin*, because he was a most excellent Preacher. He was highly beloved both by God and Fortune, which made all his undertakings successful, and his Enemies unhappy, for besides the *Pazzi*, *Battista Frescobaldo* in *Carmin* and *Baldinotto* of *Pistoia* in his *Villa* or Country House, attempted to murder him; but all of them with their Accomplices suffered deserved punishment. This Magnificence, this Prudence and Fortune was with wonder known, esteemed and valued not only by all *Italy*, but by far distant Princes. *Matthew* King of *Hungary* gave many Testimonies of the love he bore him; the *Soldan* sent him Ambassadors and Presents; the Great Turk delivered up to him *Bernardo*

nardo Bandini the Murderer of his Brother, all which made him the admiration of all *Italy*, and his Reputation every day with his Prudence increased; for he was eloquent and witty in Discourse, discreet in Resolution, and quick and couragious in Execution. Nor was he blemished with any Vice to taint so many Virtues, save that he was somewhat addicted to Venery, loved witty and sharp jesting, and delighted in childish sports, more than became a man of his Gravity; for he would often play with his Children, and make himself one amongst them; so that to consider this toying and gravity, there seemed to be in him two several Persons conjoynd by impossible Ligaments. His latter dayes were full of trouble, occasioned by the distempers where-
 with he was grievously afflicted, for he was troubled with most intollerable pains in his Stomach, which so tormented him, that in *April* 1492. he died in the forty fourth year of his Age: Nor ever dyed any man, not only in *Florence*, but in all *Italy*, with such Reputation for Prudence, nor so much lamented by his Country: and since by his death great Ruins were to ensue; so Heaven was pleased to give evident signs of it, amongst the rest the highest Spire of the Church of *Sancta Reparata* was struck with Lightning, and the greatest part of it tumbled down, to the great wonder of all men. In short, all his Citizens grieved for him, and all the Princes of *Italy*, of whom

Lorenzo de Medici, his death, 1492.

whom not one but sent his Ambassadour to *Florence* to condole his death; but what succeeded, showed they had indeed sufficient cause to grieve, for being destitute of his counsel, those which remained could neither find a way to satisfy nor restrain the Ambition of *Lewis Sforza* Governor of the Duke of *Milan*: Wherefore not long after *Lorenzo's* death, began to spring up those wicked seeds which none knowing how to root out, did ruine, and yet do ruine all *Italy*.

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